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Gender Equity Education in Taiwan: policy, schooling and young people's gender and sexual identities

by

YU-CHIEH HSIEH

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

(2010)

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Abstract

The 2004 Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA) sought to challenge gender and sexual discrimination in Taiwan by focusing on the importance of spaces of education as sites where gender and sexual identities are normalized and reproduced. This thesis explores the production of the GEEA and its subsequent implementation in two schools in Taipei City. Through reviewing geographical literature on education, children/young people, gender and sexualities, this thesis explores four research questions: (1) how the aims of the GEEA are shaped in Taiwanese policy context; (2) how the GEEA is implemented in schools; (3) how teachers shape young people's gender and sexual identities; (4) how young people's experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures affect their understandings of gender and sexual identities. Methods including discourse analysis, semi-structured interviews, and observation are adopted to answer the above questions. The research aims to challenge the dichotomy of inward- and outward-looking approaches in geographies of education, to expand the construction of childhood and the gender model in existing geographical research in Western contexts, and to further the conceptualisation of different forms of heterosexuality. Consequently, based on empirical findings, the thesis argues that the objective of the GEEA, which is to enable the performance of diverse gender and sexual identities in educational spaces, has not been achieved yet because of the contradictory practices evident within school spaces. In conclusion, the thesis relates the research findings to some of the key debates within contemporary geographical literatures by highlighting the importance of combining inward- and outward-looking approaches to study education, the complex nature of young people's gender identities formation, and the age-dependent form of heterosexuality. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates the crucial role of education spaces in shaping young people's identities in an East Asian context.

Key words: education, school, children, young people, gender, sexuality, Taiwan.

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Contents

Abstract	I
Acknowledgments	II
Contents	III
List of Figure	VIII
List of Tables	VIII

Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 The Gender Equity Education Act: the foci of intersected geographies	1
1.2 Outline of the thesis	3

Chapter Two: Literature review.....	7
2.1 Introduction.....	7
2.2 Geographies of Education	8
2.2.1 The social role of education.....	9
2.2.2 Education and wider social processes.....	12
2.2.3 Social phenomena within the education system	14
2.2.4 The flexible nature of school space	17
2.2.5 Summary.....	20
2.3 Geographies of children and young people.....	21
2.3.1 The early development of children’s geographies	21
2.3.2 The new social studies of childhood.....	22
2.3.3 Everyday spaces matter: public spaces, the home and the school	25
2.3.4 Children and young people’s identity formation	29
2.3.5 Summary.....	32
2.4 Geographies of gender and sexualities.....	33
2.4.1 Gender and feminist geographies	33
2.4.2 Geographies of gay men and lesbians.....	39
2.4.3 Deconstruction of heterosexuality	42
2.4.4 Geographies of sexualities gone queer?.....	45
2.5 Conclusion	47

Chapter Three: Methodology.....	53
3.1 Introduction.....	53
3.2 Taiwan profile	53
3.2.1 An overview of Taiwan.....	54
3.2.2 Politics and economy	56
3.2.3 Society and culture	57
3.2.4 Education in Taiwan	58
3.3 Epistemology, methodology and research methods	61
3.3.1 The selection of case study schools	63
3.3.2 Discourse analysis	68
3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews	69
3.3.4 Observation.....	81
3.4 Ethical issues: working with children	84
3.4.1 Access	84
3.4.2 Informed consent	85
3.4.3 Confidentiality	86
3.4.4 Possible harm.....	87
3.4.5 Empowering practices: performing a ‘less-adult role’	88
3.5 Reflection	90
3.5.1 Positionalities.....	91
3.5.2 The contexts.....	94
3.6 Conclusion	97
 Chapter Four: Discourse analysis of the Gender Equity Education Act.....	 98
4.1 Introduction.....	98
4.2 Social contexts of the Gender Equity Education Act	99
4.2.1 The development of women’s movements	100
4.2.2 The educational reform movement	102
4.2.3 The ‘Peng Wan-Ru Incident’	103
4.2.4 The Two Sexes Equity Education Committee and the initiative of law-making .	104
4.2.5 Drafting, modifying and transforming the GEEA	106
4.2.6 Campaigning and lobbying the GEEA: NGOs’ key role	110
4.2.7 Summary.....	111
4.3 Introduction of the Gender Equity Education Act.....	112
4.3.1 Chapters and issues	112
4.3.2 Subsequent regulations and guidelines	114
4.3.3 Summary.....	116
4.4 Discourse analysis of Gender Equity Education Act: key themes	116

4.4.1 Equity/equality and identity	117
4.4.2 Gender equity.....	120
4.4.3 Gender temperament.....	124
4.4.4 Sexual orientation	127
4.4.5 Gender identity: student pregnancy	132
4.4.6 Sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus.....	138
4.4.7 The construction of teachers and students	144
4.4.8 Summary.....	149
4.5 Conclusion	150
Chapter five: Institutional policies and cultures	152
5.1 Introduction.....	152
5.2 Outside schools: the State and the society	154
5.2.1 The role of school education in Taiwanese society.....	155
5.2.2 The negotiation between the local government and schools.....	161
5.2.3 Being a seed or non-seed school.....	165
5.3 Within schools: administrative practices for implementing the GEEA	168
5.3.1 Institutional division of work.....	168
5.3.2 The leadership of the Counselling Office	175
5.3.3 The relationship between school managers and class teachers.....	185
5.4 Conclusion	188
Chapter Six: Correspondent and contradictory agendas: how class teachers shape young people's gender and sexual identities	191
6.1 Introduction.....	191
6.2 Masculine identities	194
6.2.1 Boys being better and active learners?	195
6.2.2 Boys being clowns and enjoying having fun	198
6.2.3 Feminine boys.....	201
6.2.4 Bodily appearance	204
6.3 Feminine identities	206
6.3.1 Passive learners.....	207
6.3.2 Feminine but not too feminine.....	208
6.3.3 Girls' usage of bad language.....	211
6.3.4 What men can do, women can do too	213
6.4 Sexuality: heterosexual and gay and lesbian identities	215
6.4.1 Heterosexual intimate relationships.....	215
6.4.2 Heterosexualised friendship.....	219

6.4.3 Gay and lesbian identities	222
6.5 Conclusion	227
Chapter Seven: Shaping young women's understandings of gender and sexual identities: young women's experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures.....	229
7.1 Introduction	229
7.2 Formal curriculum: a lack of gender equity education	229
7.3 Informal curriculum: what boys are like (or should be like)?	233
7.3.1 Funny, noisy and immature.....	234
7.3.2 Better physical strength: born to labour.....	237
7.3.3 Interest in (hetero)sex-related issues.....	244
7.3.4 Alternative masculinities and 'Other' boys.....	250
7.4 Informal curriculum: What girls are like (or should be like)?	254
7.4.1 Xin-Ji: hidden thoughts in mind	254
7.4.2 Appropriate dress and behaviours.....	258
7.4.3 Hyperfemininity.....	261
7.4.4 Sexual innocence	264
7.5 Informal curriculum: Developing an intimate relationship in the senior high school.	267
7.5.1 The appropriate timing for developing intimate relationships?	268
7.5.2 Perceptions of teaching practices.....	270
7.5.3 Right time to have sex?.....	273
7.6 Informal curriculum: Sexual Otherness	276
7.6.1 The recognition of gay and lesbian identities	277
7.6.2 Less tolerance for gay men than lesbian women	280
7.6.3 The emerging bisexual subject.....	284
7.7 Conclusion	286
Chapter Eight: Discussion	289
8.1 Introduction.....	289
8.2 Breaking the dichotomy: outward and inward educational geographies	290
8.2.1 The State's agenda: from social reproduction to a new society	290
8.2.2 Schools matter: the significance of school space.....	293
8.2.3 Institutional geographies: within and beyond school spaces	297
8.2.4 Summary.....	299
8.3 Contradictory trajectory: becoming a gendered subject.....	299
8.3.1 The GEEA and the conceptualisation of young people in Taiwan.....	300
8.3.2 Gender equity: 'same treatment' and 'tolerance for difference'	302
8.3.3 Gender equity: 'double standards' and the 'pursuit of homogeneity'	306

8.3.4 Summary.....	308
8.4 Sexualised school spaces and young people	309
8.4.1 The reproduction of heterosexual subjects	309
8.4.2 Heteronormativity: an age-differentiated concept	312
8.4.3 (In)direct exclusion of the sexual Other.....	315
8.4.4 Summary.....	318
8.5 Conclusion	318
Chapter Nine: Conclusion	320
9.1 Introduction.....	320
9.2 Inseparable inward and outward analyses of education	320
9.3 The school as a key site of gender contestation	321
9.4 The age related nature of heteronormativity	323
9.5 Conclusion	324
Appendices	
Appendix 1: An example of interview prompts: for lawmakers and policy makers	325
Appendix 2: An example of interview prompts: for members of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC) in Ministry of Education or Taipei City Government.....	326
Appendix 3: An example of interview prompts: for governmental officers.....	327
Appendix 4: An example of interview prompts for representatives of NGOs	328
Appendix 5: An example of interview prompts: for teachers (members of the GEEC).....	329
Appendix 6: An example of interview prompts: for young women	330
Appendix 7: Key informants' pseudonym and identity	331
Appendix 8: Teachers' pseudonym and identity.....	332
Appendix 9: Young women's pseudonym	333
Reference	334

List of Figure

4.1	Key stages and drafts of the GEEA.....	112
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List of Tables

3.1	An example of school timetable for pupils in senior high schools.....	60
3.2	Interviews with key informants.....	71
3.3	Interviews with teachers.....	72
3.4	Interviews with young people.....	.76
4.1	Chapters and issues of the GEEA.....	.113

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Gender Equity Education Act: the foci of intersected geographies

In 1996, a long-term activist for women's rights, Mrs. Peng Wan-Ru, was found raped and murdered during her trip to Kaohsiung¹ to lobby for women's rights of political participation (Peng Wan-Ru Foundation, 2010). This incident shocked Taiwanese society and triggered angry demands that the State tackled the issue of women's safety and equality. Feminist campaigners considered that school's implementation of a gender equity education would be the foundation for eliminating future discrimination, harassment and assaults of women. The establishment of legislation soon became the primary goal of women's movements, designed to ensure the State was taking the idea of gender equity education seriously (Su, 2004).

The Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA) officially came into effect in 2004. Its establishment and objectives were shaped by Taiwanese contexts in relation to women's movements, educational reform, and the institutionalisation of gender equity education. As its title demonstrates, the GEEA was initially designed to promote equal treatment of men and women. However, another tragic incident in 2000 pushed the issue of gender equity education further and transformed it into a more inclusive concept. In 2000, during the process of drafting the GEEA, the mysterious death of a feminine boy in the school toilet attracted the attention of feminists, teachers, gay and human right organisations. This incident was then utilised by activists to expand the scope of the GEEA from primarily focusing on equity

¹ Kaohsiung is the second largest city in Taiwan. It is in the south of the island.

between men and women to equity between all gendered and sexual subjects.

The GEEA also draws on issues of student pregnancy and sexual harassment and assault on campus. Therefore, this Act is important because it has established the aim of transforming gender and sexual ideology in Taiwanese society from different perspectives. The current GEEA has seven chapters and thirty-eight articles. The objective of the Act is stated: ‘in order to promote substantive gender equality, eliminate gender discrimination, uphold human dignity, and improve and establish education resources and environment of gender equality’ (Article 1, GEEA, 2004). The Enforcement Rules for the Gender Equity Education Act (ERGEEA, 2005) later supplements the above object by defining ‘substantive equality of gender status’ as ‘no one shall be discriminated based on his or her **sex, sexual orientation, gender temperament or gender identity**’ (Rule 1, ERGEEA, 2005, emphasis added). These definitions constitute the ethos of the GEEA, which is to create diverse gender and sexual subjects and ensure equality between them. In brief, main chapters of the GEEA regulate issues of the establishment of Gender Equity Education Committee (in governments and in schools), equal opportunities, curriculum and teaching practices, and prevention and investigation of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus.

Collectively, the production of the GEEA indicates that educational space has become a key site where gender and sexual notions are contested and negotiated in contemporary Taiwan. This thesis thus draws on this particular legislation to explore significant themes in relation to the gendering and sexing of society. The research argues that the enactment of the GEEA in Taiwan relates to a number of geographical debates. Firstly, geographers have shown a growing interest in education in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Holloway et al,

2010). The GEEA thus serves as an appropriate example to explore how education affects wider society as well as educational practices within schools. In other words, this thesis engages with outward as well as inward looking approaches to study education (Holloway et al, 2010; Thiem, 2009). Secondly, studying the implementation of the GEEA in relation to young people's experiences resonates with the interest of children's geographies in revealing children's voices which are largely absent from the process of policy making and public debates (Hemming, 2007; Holt, 2004). Moreover, this thesis explores the conceptualisation of childhood in an East Asian context noting one of the most significant contributions made by geographers to the new social studies of childhood: the idea that places matter in constituting childhood and children's experiences. Thirdly, the nature of the GEEA is about redefinition and negotiation of gender and sexual norms in schools as well as in Taiwanese society. Therefore, this research engages with geographical work on gender and sexuality to explore socially and spatially constructed gender and sexual identities. Specifically, this thesis draws on wider debates on (1) educational geographies (2) children's geographies and (3) gender and sexual geographies.

1.2 Outline of the thesis

This thesis considers the gender and sexual identities that the GEEA pursues, and how these are reproduced in schools. In practice, the research explores the role and the impact of education, the construction of gender and sexual identities, and young people's experiences of shaping those identities in schools through the lens of the GEEA in Taiwan. The remainder of this thesis is organised into eight chapters. Chapter Two reviews literature on geographies of education, children, and gender and sexualities. Insights, debates and absences within these threads of geographical studies inform the theoretical framework and aims of the research. In

Chapter Three, a brief introduction to Taiwan is provided to ground the geographical and social context of the research. Moreover, the selection of case study schools and the research methods applied by this thesis are discussed. This chapter also explores the ethical issues when working with young people.

The empirical findings from the research are presented in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Four explores the Taiwanese policy context in which the GEEA was produced and its aims were shaped. This chapter also draws out key themes in the GEEA. Chapters Five, Six and Seven are distinguished by different dimensions of schools' cultures. Chapter Five explores the school as an institution and emphasises its institutional policies and cultures in relation the implementation of the GEEA. In particular, the discussion focuses on school managers' attitudes to and practices of implementing the GEEA. Chapter Six considers how teaching practices affect young people's gender and sexual identities in terms of ideas around masculinity, femininity, heterosexual relationships and gay and lesbian identities. This emphasises teachers' attitudes and practices vary and do not necessarily reproduce the equitable ideas that the GEEA aims to achieve.

Chapter Seven explores young people's understandings of gender and sexual identities according to their experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures. In order to reflect on how young people's subjective experiences are related to – and produced by - teaching practices, young people's narratives are also discussed in relation to masculinity, femininity, heterosexual relationships and the sexual Otherness. This emphasises the significance of the informal curriculum² and young people's agency in shaping and making sense of their lives in

² Within geographical studies, the concept of informal curriculum is treated as hidden curriculum (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b; Holloway et al, 2000). In this case, the focus of studying informal curriculum is not on the

the respect of gender and sexual identities.

Chapter Eight draws together the main findings from the research. This chapter presents conceptual contributions of this thesis by engaging with existing literature on the basis of empirical findings which fulfil the research aims. In particular, the discussion emphasises the importance of combining inward and outward looking approaches to study geographies of education. The research argues that it is important to understand the GEEA as the State's agenda for transforming wider society. It is also important to explore how it is implemented within schools. The research illustrates schools' failure to achieve the objectives of the GEEA, as teachers and young women reproduced counter-equitable gender and sexual norms to different extents. This chapter also explores the complexity of young women's exercise of agency. The research demonstrates that it is a contradictory trajectory for young women to become gendered subjects, as they articulate the discourses of gender equity in different ways. Finally, the discussion highlights schools' impacts on reproducing heterosexual subjects, age-informed heterosexuality and exclusion of the sexual Other. By doing this, the research argues for the need of studying school as sexualised space and its significance to affect young people's sexual identities.

Chapter Nine summarises what (and how) this thesis contributes to forward debates in wider literature on geographies of education, young people, gender and sexualities. Specifically, this chapter concludes that the thesis has transcended the dichotomy of inward and outward analyses of education, demonstrated the complexity of young people's agency and shown the

content of lessons but the nature of socio-spatial relations within learning spaces and children and young people's experiences and identities (Holloway et al, 2010). However, in some educational studies, informal curriculum is conceptualised differently from hidden curriculum but means arranged events, lectures, and activities beyond the school's scheduled subjects teaching as formal curriculum.

age-related nature of heteronormativity. Finally, this chapter highlights the limited spatial focus in existing geographical work on education, young people, and gender and sexuality. The thesis demonstrates the importance of undertaking further research which interrogates the spatiality of education, childhood and identity in diverse geographical contexts. Also, the possibility to develop future research linking local practices to global processes is also suggested.

Chapter Two: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This thesis explores how Taiwanese young people's gender and sexual identities are shaped within and through school space in the context of the new education legislation on gender equity passed in 2004. Before the research aims can be identified, however, it is important to put the thesis in a theoretical context. Firstly, the thesis focuses on understanding why the school has been considered to be the key site for transforming people's notions of gender and sexuality. In Taiwan, education has long been held to be the ideal strategy for resolving social problems in a way that raises future generations' awareness of particular issues, such as the significance of gender equity. This tendency relates to the perception of the role of education in society. In this sense, it is important to understand how education is studied, especially by geographers. It is particularly helpful to understand the characteristic features and function of the educational environment which differentiate it from other spaces.

Secondly, the thesis is also particularly concerned with young people's experiences. Over the past two decades, there has been expanding research on children's geographies (Ansell and van Blerk, 2005; Gough, 2008). These emerging literatures indicate a growing interest in studying children although it is still understudied compared to existing work on adults' geographies, and children's voices and views still undervalued and unquestioned in many national contexts. The neglect of children's voices in Taiwanese society is also common, as 'kids can listen but not speak' is regarded as one of the traditional virtues. As a result, young people's subjective experiences have not been paid enough attention by Taiwanese

academics, including geographers. The phenomenon of children's lack of voice in society and in research is closely related to how they are conceived and understood (James and Prout, 1997). Therefore, for the thesis to explore young people's experiences in their own right, this Chapter reflects on the conceptualisation of children by geographers and those in other disciplines.

Thirdly, the construction of gender and sexual identities is another focus of the thesis. The introduction of new education legislation has demonstrated the intention to transform society so that the diversity of gender and sexuality is respected. Although biological explanations of gender differences and distinct forms of sexual desires have been challenged, they are still influential. This essentialist understanding works to discriminate and suppress non-normative gender and sexual performances. Thus, it is helpful to review geographical work on gender and sexuality to understand how these important themes have been discussed by geographers. As it is suggested above, this chapter is organised with three main sections, focusing on geographies of education, children's geographies, and geographies of gender and sexualities.

2.2 Geographies of Education

Over the past decade, there has been a notably growing interest shown by geographers in education (Holloway et al, 2010; Thiem, 2009), with a wide range of studies have been carried out at various scales and in different contexts through which geographers have expanded ways of understanding spatiality and education. However, there have been diverse and even contradictory perspectives about the social role of education. Bondi (1988) has summarised that education has been viewed both positively as a means of overcoming social problems, and negatively, as a factor maintaining social inequalities. Therefore, within

geographical work on education, there have been distinct approaches to conceptualise the significance of education in wider society.

2.2.1 The social role of education

Research has demonstrated the central role of education in state-building, economic development, social reproduction, cultural politics, and policies related to social integration, social mobility, national competitiveness and reduction of social exclusion (Butler and Hamnett, 2007; Thiem, 2009). For some researchers, schools are essentially understood and analysed as one of the basic public services provided by the state to ensure the reproduction of labour power (Gregory, 2009). In this case, the discussion of education is related to the notion of collective consumption, which was developed among Marxist urban theorists. Castells (1977) has illustrated the concept of collective consumption as a framework for analysing labour and social reproduction in capitalist societies, particularly in urban environments. According to Castells' theorisation, public facilities, for example schools are provided on particular sites for public use, therefore investigation of provision and consumption of these services illustrates the socio-spatial processes of labour reproduction and collective consumption (Gregory, 2009).

The above discussion has two implications for further thinking about the role of education in society. Firstly, as education is generally provided by the state, the school is viewed as part of the state apparatus (Flint, 2009). In other words, schools are institutions through which state power is exercised and where, from a Foucauldian perspective, individuals are disciplined and scrutinised. In this sense, analyses of education policies are particularly important in

revealing how the political agenda of the state is imposed on and/or resisted by educational institutions with social and spatial effects. For example, the adoption of neo-liberalism in many countries has transformed the education system and in some cases caused a disconnection between local schools and neighbourhoods by promoting parental and student choice (Johnston, 2009). Thiem (2009) proposes using education to inform the discussion of state spatial restructuring and neoliberalised governance. In this case, the reconfiguration of education system, policy and its spatial impact is not only the result of state restructuring but also reflects the processes of transformation which happen at scales of nationally-based compulsory education as well as cross-border higher education (Thiem, 2009). This discussion demonstrates the significance of the state in relation to education.

Secondly, what the state tries to achieve through education is crucial to social reproduction. Katz (2009) defines this as the daily and long term reproduction of the means of production, including ensuring labour power's ability to work and maintaining social relations that hold them in place. According to Katz's definition (2009), there are two functions of social reproduction: reproducing workers and reproducing social values. The significant role of education in social reproduction has been recognised by geographers (Aitken et al, 2006; Ansell, 2002, 2008; Laurie et al, 2003; Morgan, 2004). However, on the one hand, the economic feature of producing skilled workers is usually emphasised over education's cultural role, as education has been seen as an advantage for individuals in their quest for better jobs or as a solution to reduce unemployment (Bondi, 1988; Eggleston, 1988; Warrington, 2008; Punch, 2004). On the other hand, the cultural aspect of social reproduction which education also provides is less often explored (Holloway et al, 2010). Yet, there has been some research which explores the role of education in creating particular values, identities, and subjects (Ansell, 2002; Holt, 2007; Jeffrey, 2008; Mitchell, 2003; Thomas,

2005 and 2008). It is argued that through particular social practices and different actors' engagements that social values and differences are reproduced, secured, or possibly transformed (Katz, 2009).

Foucault's (1977) notion of disciplinary power is also particularly insightful in understanding how educational spaces, as key social institutions, (re)produce social relations and values by (re)constructing particular types of identities and subjects. Through conceptualising power as being disseminated throughout society rather than being exercised from a centralised source, Foucault has suggested the importance of analysing power within institutional and social practices (Elden, 2009). According to Foucault (1977), institutions establish control through regulation of space and time, repetitive exercises of disciplinary power, and surveillance of the body. Therefore, Foucault's theorisation of disciplinary power provides insights to understand the spatial strategies utilised within institutions from the level of body to the architectural or urban planning levels (Elden, 2009). However, this conceptualisation of educational spaces is less explored among geographers (but see Barker et al, 2010; Ploszajska, 1994 for exceptions).

The crucial role of education in society to state restructuring, social reproduction, and subject production has been discussed above. It is important for geographers to continuously explore the ways that education reflects or constitutes distinct social processes with a variety of spatial expressions. Also, studying education settings as institutional spaces should remind us to pay attention to their links to other wider institutions such as the society and the state, as well as operation within schools, built upon contestation and negotiation of power relations articulated by different actors. The subsequent section firstly reviews literature which uses

education as explicit cases to comment on wider social processes.

2.2.2 Education and wider social processes

In considering the role of education in fostering or reflecting social processes, this section particularly draws on Thiem's (2009) proposition for developing outward-looking geographical studies of education. Referring to Bradford's (1990) identification of two different approaches for studying education within geography, Thiem (2009) has proposed an agenda for developing a decentred and outward-looking literature on geographies of education. According to Bradford (1990), the first approach has focused on spatial variations in the provision, consumption and outcomes of schooling, providing explanations of what happens within the education system. The second approach has used the same empirical evidence but addressed external social, political and economic processes shaping these. Thiem (2009) has termed the two approaches as inward- and outward-looking analyses. In suggesting the latter approach, Thiem (2009, p115) defines the outward-looking geography of education as, 'one that deliberately situates its object(s) of analysis relative to broader research programs (i.e., beyond the sector)'. Specifically, the outward-looking approach urges geographers to explore how education affects geographical processes as well as reveals wider cultural, social, political and economic processes³.

According to Thiem's (2009) arguments, research exploring how education 'makes spaces' (p 157) or contributes to geographical processes is regarded as a form of outward-looking analysis. In particular, studies of geographical identity formation through education and the

³ In Thiem's paper, she explores how geographical research on education can inform debates about globalisation, neoliberalisation and knowledge economy formation (Thiem, 2009).

impacts on regional development brought by educational establishments have been recognised as examples deploying the outward-looking approach (Thiem, 2009). In this sense, there has been some work exploring the construction and shift of national identities and citizenships as reflected in particular education policies or curriculum development (Mitchell, 2003; Morgan, 2004; Pykett, 2009). As for the impact of education on regional development, geographical research on education has focused on the spatial processes and outcomes of studentification and student mobility in higher education (Duke-Williams, 2009; Hubbard, 2009; Munro et al, 2009; Smith, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2007) as well as the emergence of 'learning regions' (Benner, 2003; Florida, 1995; MacKinnon et al, 2002; Morgan, 1997).

In proposing an outward-looking approach, Thiem (2009) also suggests that geographers think through education by exploring the implications of educational institutions and practices in disclosing cultural, social, political and economic processes in which they are embedded. In terms of social geographies of education, there has been work on the impacts of school closure on local communities (Kearns et al, 2009; Witten et al, 2001, 2003), class- or ethnicity-oriented analyses of dynamic housing markets and residential patterns (Bridge, 2006; Butler, 2003; Butler and Robson, 2003; Johnston et al, 2006; Ledwith and Clark, 2007) and transnational sociospatial processes (Waters, 2006a, b, 2007) exploring social geographies of educational provision and consumption. The political agenda of producing not only national but also regional and global citizens/subjects can also be revealed through examining curriculum and educational practices (Apple, 2004; Mitchell et al, 2004; Morgan, 2004). Work on economic geographies of education focuses on how educational institutions constitute knowledge spaces which contribute to economic developments at different scales (Harloe and Perry, 2004; Old, 2007; Olssen and Peters, 2005).

This section has reviewed literature categorised as outward-looking according to Thiem's (2009) framework, particularly revealing wider social processes through the lens of education system. However, it would not be possible to comment on the impacts of education on wider social processes without conducting inward-looking research in the first place. For example, the discussion of school curriculum related to the production of particular type of national citizens/identities can only be made possible if school policy, textbooks, or teaching practices within schools has been researched. Thus, the inward-looking research should not be seen as less important or inferior, but complementary. The next section thus focuses on studies exploring phenomena within the education sector and space.

2.2.3 Social phenomena within the education system

Defined as inward-looking literature by Thiem (2009), the majority of geographical work on education has primarily focused on spatial processes within the education sector. Johnston (2009) also concludes that scholars have researched geographies of education by exploring spatial variations in the provision, take-up, quality of and outputs created by educational resources. The studies of school closure make good examples of illustrating the uneven provision of education and exploring political processes of decision-making. Through examining the process of education restructuring in Toronto, Basu (2004) has illustrated that the public decision-making of school closure does not necessarily correspond with the notion of rationality embraced by the state. Instead, the closure of certain schools has been demonstrated as connected to the power of neighbourhood-based social capital. It is pointed out that schools in communities with less social capital are more likely to be closed (Basu, 2004). In another article, Basu (2007) further examines the failures and successes of various acts of citizenship in challenging neoliberal governmental rationalities to close public schools

by focusing on the politics of the community consultation at different stages. These studies remind us that when investigating educational policy, it is important to be attentive to power relations between different parties and to explore points of resistance.

Studies concerned with mapping spatial variations of educational attainment (i.e. exam scores) form a significant part of geographical work on education (Gordon and Monastiriotis, 2007; Harris and Mercier, 2000; Herbert and Thomas, 1998). It has been argued that student performance not only reflects their innate abilities, home situations and the quality of the school they attend, but also the characteristics of the school catchment and neighbourhood (Johnston, 2009; Johnston et al, 2007; Webber and Butler, 2007). For example, there have been studies exploring 'white flight' and school and residential racial segregation (Johnston et al, 2006; Johnston et al, 2007; Johnston et al, 2008; Ledwith and Clark, 2007; Zhang, 2008). Other researchers also have explored how social class affects education access and outcomes (Ball and Vincent, 2007; Butler et al, 2007; Hamnett et al, 2007; Reay, 2004a, 2007; Reay et al, 2007; Vincent and Ball, 2007; Warrington, 2005). Such studies have suggested that education reveals the intersection of the social and the spatial in the (re)production of social differences, exclusion and segregation (Butler and Hamnett, 2007).

There are also studies focusing on parental and student school choice, as the idea has been widely promoted because of the neoliberal restructuring of the state (Johnston, 2009). For example, Warrington (2005) has focused on the agency of parents sending their children to secondary schools in disadvantaged areas. It is argued that although there are exceptions, educational opportunities reflected and reinforced their marginality. Andre-Bechely (2007) also reveals that the full exercise of school choice is not possible for all parents. Parents

without necessary resources such as time, support, and transport means were unable to accomplish their choice. In this sense, social inequalities among parents are reproduced and passed to their children through schooling (Andre-Bechely, 2007). By exploring children's perspectives, Lucey and Reay (2002) argue that school choice operates as a form of social exclusion: it is effectively a way of sorting out 'good' from 'bad' schools as well as 'behaved/clever' from 'deviant/stupid' pupils. It is in the process of choice that particular schools and children are demonized. There are also other studies revealing racial or class disadvantage in children's experiences that suggest they actually 'have no choice' but to cope with it (Reay, 2007; Reay and Lucey, 2003).

So far the literature reviewed in this section is concerned with issues relating to compulsory education. However, there have also been studies focusing on education at different levels such as pre-school provision and higher education. For example, Mahon (2005) has illustrated the increasing pressure for the state to provide non-parental childcare arrangements at pre-school level because of changes in gender relations. Reay et al (2001) highlight class and racial differences and inequalities in applying for higher education. There is also work on exploring experiences of local students or students living at home in relation to their (im)mobility, (in)dependence and incorporation of university life (Christie, 2007; Holdsworth, 2006, 2009). The challenges encountered by cross-border academics in higher education are also discussed (Alberts, 2008; Collins, 2008; Foote et al, 2008).

Geographical work on spatial variations in educational provision, consumption and outcomes may be categorised as inward-looking approaches in Thiem's (2009) framework, but many of them have the potential to link to spatial variations and social processes too. Thus, the

inward-looking and outward-looking research should not be seen as separate or exclusive, but providing explanations about geographies of education at different stages with varied scopes. The next section introduces children's geographers' initial attempts to deconstruct/complicate the inward and outward-looking dichotomy.

2.2.4 The flexible nature of school space

The educational spaces of primary and secondary schooling are key sites which have been focused on by children's geographers. Relevant work has included themes such as the performance of female youth cultures within the space of school (Blackman, 1998), the importance of curriculum in shaping young people's perceptions of their bodies, ICT competence, the role of sports and exercise (Evans, 2006; Hemming, 2007; Holloway and Valentine, 2001), and the (re)production of social difference/exclusion/segregation within schools along the axes of ethnicity, disability and peer cultures (Holt, 2007; Thomas, 2005b, 2008; Valentine et al, 2002), and identity/subjectivity formation (Ansell, 2001, 2002; Holloway et al, 2000; Hyams, 2000; Morris-Roberts, 2004; Valentine, 2000). Through these studies, the school space is revealed as a dynamic environment in which different actors interact with each other as well as social relations and meanings are contested. Also, the meaning of school space itself is transformed through these processes.

Valentine (2000) has argued that few geographical studies recognise the importance of schools in shaping children's lives and that most merely treat educational spaces as places to recruit participants. However, recently children's geographers have contributed more fully to the theorisation of the nature of school space. By conceptualising the institution as a

‘geographical accomplishment’, the suggestion of Philo and Parr (2000) has been adopted by children’s geographers to better understand school spaces as socially produced. Philo and Parr (2000) view ‘institutions’- of all possible varieties- ‘not as stable, fixed entities but as made, dynamic, fluid achievements’ (p513). In other words, institutions should not be taken as physical containers nor pre-given establishments, but understood as ‘spaces in the making’.

Holloway et al (2000) build upon Philo and Parr’s insight to demonstrate three different ways to understand the spatiality of school space in a study of discussing young people’s gender and sexual identities: the school is embedded within wider places, is an important site for constructing young people’s gender/sexual identities, and its spatial meanings are (re)shaped by contextualised notions of gender/sexual identities. Hemming (2007) uses young people’s perceptions about sports, bodies and emotions as the lens to reveal the flexible nature of school space, which is contested through competing discourses between adults and children. Evans (2006) explores how particular educational practices within schools contribute to young women’s disaffection with sports in PE curricula as compared with other activities outside school.

Geographical studies of the nature of school space have not only improved understanding of the dynamics of institutional settings, but also demonstrate the significance of examining delivery and consumption of the curriculum. One of the suggestions Thiem (2009) proposes for outward-looking geographies of education is to focus on the curriculum. She highlights the usefulness of exploring the relationship between the curriculum and formation of geographical identities as citizen-subjects at national, regional or transnational levels.

However, claiming to complement Thiem's (2009) agenda, Holloway et al (2010) suggest the possibilities for geographical research on curriculum to engage with other aspects of social identities (class, disability, ethnicity, faith, gender, and sexuality). They also emphasise the importance of formal as well as informal curriculum in schools, in which 'the focus is not on the content of lessons, but the nature of socio-spatial relations within different learning spaces and children's and young people's identities and experiences' (Holloway et al, 2010). As such, focusing on informal curriculum can be a more important strategy for understanding the unstable and transformative nature of the school space, as teaching and learning never equate with textbooks but are processes involving negotiated and contested social relations between teacher and students (Morgan, 2004).

Among geographers' efforts to explore the nature of school space through informal curriculum, a focus on a variety of banal everyday practices is an important strategy to achieve this aim. Considering the school as 'hot bed' of moral geographies, Fielding (2000) points out that regulatory messages for teachers and students are not only diffused through the school rules but also through discourses and interaction, the wall displays, and bodily movement and posture. Holt (2007) also highlights the importance of mundane everyday practices within school playgrounds such as hierarchical positioning within social groups to reproduce dominant and unequal subject positions of disability among children, which challenges the idea of 'inclusive' school. Other studies explore the space of education by discussing different banal practices within it (Evans, 2006; Hemming, 2007; Holloway et al, 2000; Hyams, 2000; Thomas, 2005b). As the result, the modifiable, negotiable and contestable nature of school space has been recognised with implication for the importance of contextualised knowledge.

However, it is crucial to note that most existing research is carried out in select social and geographical contexts, US and UK in particular. As the nature of school space is culturally specific as well as related to the role and the system of education in a particular society, it is important to conduct research in different socio-spatial contexts to improve understandings of school space. There have been a few exceptions to explore the school space in relation to young people's experiences in the Global South (Gwanzura-Ottmoller and Kesby, 2005; Ansell, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008). However, further exploration of experiences beyond the Global North (or urban West) needs to be taken seriously.

2.2.5 Summary

The dual role of education facilities as public goods and sites for delivering knowledge has been explored by geographers in their studies of the different dimensions of education. The existence of both an inward- and outward- looking literature illustrates different ways to study the spatiality when concerned with education. However, these two approaches have been shown not to be exclusive but they are closely linked with each other. While the outward-looking approach is particularly proposed by some scholars, the contribution and necessity to explore socio-spatial processes within the education sector should also be recognised. Though situated at the margin of geographical studies of education, children's geographers' work has successfully deconstructed the inward- or outward- looking dichotomy by theorising the school as the space with particular dynamics and as an institution embedded in wider social structures. Moreover, children's geographers also shift the focus to exploring the subjectivities and experiences of those who are educated by including young people's voices in studies of education. This recognition that children are capable of shaping their life has been developed within children's geographies, to which the next section now turns.

2.3 Geographies of children and young people

Children and young people were not traditional foci for geographers. In 1990, James (1990) has asked, 'is there a "place" for children in geography?' However, after 1990, there was a growing interest for geographers to study children. To date, geographies of children and young people have developed as one of the sub-disciplines within Geography. A specific journal, *Children's Geographies* was founded in 2003. There is also a research group on Geographies of Children, Youth and Families of the RGS-IBG, which has sponsored two international conference held in the UK, 2007 and Spain, 2009. Nevertheless, the flourishing development of geographical interest in the last decade of the twentieth century does not imply that there was not previously significant work on the geography of children.

2.3.1 The early development of children's geographies

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Bunge argued that children constituted the largest social minority, and hence demanded geographical studies of children (James, 1990). His research focused on exploring the spatial oppression of children who were viewed as marginalised within built environments – a point made in his analyses of spatial structure and interaction which adopted myriad quantitative and qualitative methods. Aitken (2001a) points out that Bunge's emphasis on situated knowledge in the sphere of reproduction reveals marginalised groups' geographies - for example, children's geographies. Around the same time and later in the 1980s, there were also other geographers who initiated different agendas which particularly studied children's perceptions of space, spatial cognition and mapping abilities (Blaut et al, 1970; Blaut and Stea, 1971, 1974; Matthews, 1984a, 1984b). A shared focus on developmental theory among these researchers inevitably restrained geographical studies

within a specific framework of constructing the universal idea of children and their abilities (Aitken, 2001a). However, later geographers have challenged the idea of universal childhood (Aitken, 2001b; Aitken et al, 2006; Gough, 2008; Holt, 2006; Katz, 2004; Manzo, 2005; Ruddick, 2003). In brief, two different approaches within geographies of children are identified as: psychological interest in children's spatial cognition and sociological interest in children's agency (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a).

The sociological approach constitutes the majority of contemporary geographical literature on children and young people. Matthews and Limb (1999) have suggested 'the geography of children is moving away from its environmental psychology roots and is moving towards a solidly grounded social and cultural geography of children which acknowledges process of exclusion, sociospatial marginalisation and boundary conflicts with adults and parents (p82)'. The sociological approach of geographical work on children and young people does not only improve geographers' understandings of young people's experiences in relation to spatiality but also invokes children/young people-centred methodologies which attempt to empower young participants during the research process (Barker and Weller, 2003a, b; Bushin, 2007; Holt, 2004; Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008; Skelton, 2001b, 2008; Thomson, 2007; Valentine et al, 2001; Young and Barrett, 2001a, b). This methodological emphasis is essentially based on the conceptualisation of children's competence as social actors, which is initially introduced by researchers in the 'new social studies of childhood'.

2.3.2 The new social studies of childhood

Academic interests in children and the construction of childhood are connected with debates

around identity and difference that emerged during the 1980s and 1990s (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a). To date, numerous studies have challenged essentialist conceptualisation of identities and instead explored different ways through which our identities are socially constructed. The understanding of childhood, at first sight, seems to be assured due to children's biological or social immaturity. However, like other social identities, ideas of 'childhood' have shown to be 'invented' rather than natural or universal (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a).

The work of Ariès (1962) is well known among researchers who are interested in studying childhood. Through his exploration of the emergence of childhood, Ariès (1962) pointed out that the distinct status of being 'children' had not developed until medieval civilisation. Before that, children were essentially recognised as 'miniature adults'. However, in Modern times, ideas of childhood began to develop and gradually shaped modern conceptualisations about children as separate beings from adults (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a). Jenks (1996) identifies two different ways - dionysian and apollonian - in which children and childhood are understood. Within dionysian understanding, children are regarded as unruly little devils and therefore they need to be disciplined by adults. However, in the terms of apollonian understanding, children are conceived as innocent little angels and need adults' protection and enlightenment (also see James et al, 1998). These two very different and contradictory understandings of childhood have informed various social practices such as attitudes to childrearing, provision of education and intervention of child welfare (Jenks, 1996).

However, not only children and childhood are understood in different ways, so too adolescents and adolescence. Valentine et al (1998) illustrate the social processes through

which youth have become regarded as ‘trouble’ since the nineteenth century and ‘fun’ later emerging in the 1950s. It is interesting to note that geographers who work with children and young people are generally considered to conduct ‘children’s geographies’ as they share a belief of exploring voices other than adult perspectives. However, this categorisation might imply the adult-child dichotomy. Thus, some researchers have proposed to use the term ‘younger people’ instead of young people, children or youth, or have highlighted themes of betweenness when studying teenagers (Maxey, 2004; Weller, 2006). Their intention is not to suggest distinct categories for people at certain ages but to emphasise the fact that people are actually positioned in a series of transition processes. In brief, studies discussed above have challenged the essentialist and adultist presumption of an inherent nature to be children (and young people) and have revealed the socially constructed feature of it.

However, to the extent that children and young people are understood as less than adults, it is not surprising that previous academic studies are more interested in the processes or forces of socialisation (e.g. family and school) which transform them into ‘proper’ adults (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a). Research with this approach has been criticised as viewing children and young people as ‘human becomings’ rather than ‘human beings’ (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p5). In other words, children and young people’s subjectivities are denied and their experiences are ignored in this adultist perspective. In contrast to ‘traditional’ approaches, the ‘new social studies of childhood’ not only recognise the socially constructed nature of ideas about childhood but also consider them as competent social actors (James and Prout, 1997; James et al, 1998).

The emergence of new social studies of childhood was based on challenging the dominance

of psychological explanations of predetermined child development in social science (James and Prout, 1997). Instead, efforts have been devoted to ‘explore the ways that the immaturity of children is conceived and articulated in particular societies into culturally specific sets of ideas and philosophies, attitudes and practices which combine to define the ‘the nature of childhood’ (James and Prout, 1997, p1). Holloway and Valentine (2000a) identify two challenges raised by the new social studies of childhood which suggest different agendas for social scientific research on children and childhood. First, studies of diverse childhoods become crucial, as childhood is socially constructed in different times and places and its production is inevitably intertwined with other social differences such as class, gender, ethnicity, (dis)ability etc. Second, children’s own rights as human beings here and now as well as social actors to speak for themselves are highlighted (James et al, 1998). As a result, the challenges raised by the new social studies of childhood have profound influences in other disciplines beyond sociology including geography. It is to geographical work on children and young people that the next section turns.

2.3.3 Everyday spaces matter: public spaces, the home and the school

The studies of socially constructed childhood and youth discussed in last section mainly focused on the temporal aspect of these constructions (Ariès, 1962; Jenks, 1996; Valentine et al, 1998). However, the new social studies of childhood had taken initial attempts to explore the social spaces of childhood, which was referred as ‘embracing spatial turn’ (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b). James et al (1998, p39) argue that in discussions of childhood, ‘social space is never a mere issue of neutral location’. Rather, they suggest the importance of understanding the spatialised regulatory practices through which childhood is constructed and children’s lived experiences are affected. Particularly focusing on public spaces, the home,

and the school, these spaces are understood as sites of control of and for children (James et al, 1998).

Holloway and Valentine (2000a, b) demonstrate that geographers can make significant contributions to further explore the spatiality of childhood and children's experiences by building upon the discussion of new social studies of childhood. Three approaches to investigate the spatiality of childhood have been suggested: exploring mutually constituted global/local sense of place, experiences of everyday spaces, and seeking to understand the definition of childhood in relation to the meaning of space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b). In illustrating these three ways of studying childhood, Holloway and Valentine (2000b) also highlight that these approaches are not distinct or separate but closely intertwined.

Although geographers have argued that social constructions of childhood vary between places (i.e. place matters in constituting different childhoods), the majority of existing geographic studies focus on the global North. In particular, they have sought to understand how children and young people's identities and lives are shaped in and through unbounded everyday places. The importance of taking 'everydayness' seriously is not only a key for children's geographies talking to wider debates in the social sciences but also crucial to explore how children might perceive everydayness differently from adults (Horton and Kraftl, 2006). The remainder of this section reviews work on children's geographies on 'everyday' environments, particularly focusing on public spaces, the home, and the school⁴.

Children geographers' work on public spaces in general is concerned with children's access

⁴ However, there are other studies discussing young people's everyday experiences focusing on bigger scales such as urban and rural. See the relevant work of Leyshon (2008) and Vanderbeck and Dunkley (2003).

to, use of and attachment to the street and open spaces (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a). Continued interest in children's play spaces is particularly notable from the early work of Hart (1979) and Ward (1990) to the more recent studies of Gagen (2000a, b), Holt (2007) and Punch (2000). The focus of research has changed from mainly exploring children's experiences in play environments to revealing diverse issues such as children's negotiation of time and space for play, considering play spaces as important sites for (re)producing certain identities in and among children.

Geographers have also addressed the exclusion of children in public spaces because of fears based on either apollonian or dionysian conceptualisations of them (Valentine, 1996a, b). Moreover, negotiations between parents and children are shown to be significant in affecting the extent of children's use of the street (Valentine, 1997a, b, c). Some other geographers explore children's resistance to adult control of public spaces and their strategic use of the street (Tucker, 2003; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Matthews et al, 2000; Skelton, 2000). In addition, Thomas (2005a) further illustrates how social differences are utilised, created and reproduced through young people's 'hanging-out' practices in urban public space.

The home is another space that children's geographers have been concerned with, particularly drawing on Sibley's (1995) conceptualisation of the home as 'locus of power relations' (p92). Therefore, geographies of children have focused on exploring adult-child power relations in domestic environments. McNamee (1998) explores the ways that teenage boys construct their masculinity by controlling and policing their sisters' access to computer and video games at home. Also focusing on the impact of the growing importance of technology, Valentine and Holloway (2001) demonstrate parents' concerns about online dangers for children's safety in

cyberspaces in different households. By understanding the home as not bounded space, Holloway and Valentine (2001) illustrate how parents' attitudes towards children's ICT skills are informed by discourses in wider society about the risks and potential of ICT for children. The same research also explores the ways parents and children negotiate their competence of ICT at home and different parental assessments of children's emotional ability dealing with online risks.

School space is the other main focus for children's geographers. In previous review on geographies of education, children's geographers' work particularly contributes to debates in relation to education by theorising the flexible nature of school space, highlighting the importance of informal curriculum and drawing on contextualised banal practices within schools. Thus, the review here focuses on the ways that children's geographers explore children's agency to shape their experiences in the school and through which the meaning of school space is reconfigured. Hemming (2007) illustrates children's contested discourses of sports, exercise and active play compared to the ideas of policy makers and the school as well as children's negotiation of power relation with adults through bodily performances in the school. Holt (2007) demonstrates that children can simultaneously reproduce and resist practices of exclusion of (dis)ability through everyday practices within school playgrounds. Morris-Roberts (2004) illustrates the importance of girls' friendships for challenging normative femininity and heterosexuality in the school. Valentine et al (2002) explore children's self-exclusion of developing ICT skills in relation to their perceptions of gender identities. Girls' resistance to gendered culture of computer use in the school through creating their own time and space is also found (Holloway et al, 2000). Furthermore, Ansell (2001, 2002, 2004) highlights the inadequacy of the reproduction/resistance dualism by exploring young people's agency in negotiating their transitions to adulthood and gendered futures (e.g.

the meaning of Lobola⁵ and gender equity). These studies have shown that children exercise their agency in different ways with specific social consequences. These consequences do not only affect children's experiences in the present but also inform their future lives. The next section turns to introduce geographical interest in young people's experience of identity formation.

2.3.4 Children and young people's identity formation

To explore the spatiality of reproduction of social differences is one of the significant themes among studies of children's geographies. Lately, some research has attempted to further analyse the intertwined relationship between different social identities such as gender, religion, race and age which affects young people's lives (Evans, 2006; Hopkins, 2006, 2007b, 2009). However, the majority of work still focuses on a particular axis of social difference to reveal how children and young people's experiences shape or are shaped in different spaces and seldom considers questions of intersectionality.

Thomas (2005a) has explored how young girls reproduce racial and class differences through 'hanging out' in the city. It is illustrated that young people learn about racial and class identities through tensions with the police and prohibitively high cost of accessing dominant consumption space. In adopting Butler's (1990 and 1993) theory of performativity, Thomas (2005b) also explores how teenage girls repeat the spatial practices of segregation in schools which work to (re)construct this racialized difference. In another article, Thomas (2008) suggests that the multicultural attempt of the state to transform high schools as places where

⁵ 'The provision of gifts to the parents of a bride, usually in the form of case or livestock, is an entrenched part of marriage in parts of Southern Africa' (Ansell, 2001, p697).

diversity is respected has failed, as racial-ethnic narratives are still dominant among young people. Moreover, Holt's (2007) work focuses on how school space Others people with disabilities. Valentine and Skelton (2003) similarly illustrate that youth with hearing difficulties are marginalised at home, in educational institutions, in the workplace and within Deaf communities.

Apart from addressing the reproduction of racial, class and (dis)abled differences among children and young people, there is also a sizable work concerning with the reproduction of their gender and less explicitly, sexual identities. Some researchers have focused on the construction of children's gender identities at home and in the street (Matthews et al, 2000; Valentine, 1997b). However, relevant work conducted by children's geographers is best illustrated in school space. Valentine (2000) argues that conforming to adult notions of heteronormal gender identities is important for children in acquiring their individuality within peer cultures in schools. Holloway et al (2000) illustrate that reproduction of gender identities as boys or girls reflects on children's different uses and attitudes to computers. Heterogeneous and competing masculinities and femininities among young people are also revealed by their study⁶. More importantly, Holloway et al (2000) point out that the atmosphere and non-didactic styles of teaching practices in IT classroom enable some young men ('the lads') to reproduce heterosexual masculinities by transforming the classrooms into a patriarchal and heteronormal space. The emphasis on young people's agency is evident in the literature on children's geographies. However, there is a tendency to suggest the dichotomy of young people either 'reproducing' or 'resisting' particular social notions or discourses (Ansell, 2002). The complexity of their exercise of agency is underexplored.

⁶ For example, some young men are excluded by other pupils, because they are considered performing non-normative heterosexual masculinity on the basis of their close attachment (time and interest) with computers (Holloway et al, 2000).

The discussion of gender identity has been further theorised in analyses of masculinity and femininity. A number of studies have been carried out to explore young men's masculine identities in the school context, especially by researchers of education (Castro-Vázquez and Kishi, 2003; Dixon, 1997; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Kehily and Nayak, 1997). As a result, schools are understood as 'masculinity-making machines'. However, constructions of femininity within school space do not seem to draw the same amount of attention from scholars (except work on 'ladettes', see Jackson, 2006 and Jackson and Tinkler, 2007). McRobbie (2000) has called for researchers to pay attention to the issue of girls' invisibility in research on youth culture and further explore girl's particular experiences. As for geographical work on femininity, Morris-Roberts (2004) has suggested that schoolgirls' friendship groups and spatial practices adopted by them are important in contesting normative notions of femininity and heterosexuality. Evans (2006) also focuses on girls' experiences in schools by exploring their disinterest in school sports because of pressure of maintaining a heterosexual femininity, which is reflected in idealised female body images and is scrutinised by both teachers and peers. Bearing this theoretical gap of girls' invisibility, this thesis focuses on young women's experiences in particular. Also, as one of the significant objectives of the Gender Equity Education Act (2004) is improving female pupils' experiences of being disadvantaged through educational process, it is particularly important to explore young women's experiences under the GEEA.

This work on gender identities in schools has suggested important connections between gender identities and heterosexuality in school. However, more thorough investigation of how exactly school practices affect the intersection between gender and sexual identities is less studied. Hyams' (2000) work is revealing of the construction of young women's femininity in relation to school regulatory practices for policing their bounded sexuality. Evans (2006) has

suggested that work on the intersection between gender and sexuality has to be expanded to improve understandings of the complexities inherent in the construction of masculinities and femininities. However, in order to do this, children's geographers also need to further engage with debates in relation to the theorisation of sexuality.

2.3.5 Summary

In summary, this section has considered early work on children's geographies as well as the shift of academic interest from a psychological to a sociological approach. The new social studies of childhood have greatly influenced the later development in children's geographies, particularly in the way that they have highlighted the socially constructive feature of childhood and recognised children's agency as social actors. The discussion demonstrates that the most evident contribution made by children's geographies is to illustrate the importance of everyday spaces to shape children's experiences and lives. This section also reveals that among existing studies, the focus has been on children and young people's experiences of reproduction of social differences and identities, particularly the formation of gender identities within school spaces. Geographical work on children has suggested that the construction of gender identities is related to the notion of sexuality. However, the more thorough understanding of the complicities within gender identities cannot be achieved without further discussion and theorisation of sexuality, which is underexplored in children's geographies. It is the reason that the next section turns to review work carried out by geographers of gender and sexualities.

2.4 Geographies of gender and sexualities

The importance of exploring the interrelationship between gender and sexuality has been gradually recognised by geographers who are interested in studying the spatiality of gender and sexual identity formation (Bell and Valentine, 1995a, b; Brown et al, 2007). However, studies of gender and sexualities have different roots in relation to two sub-disciplines within geography: feminist geographies and geographies of sexualities. Feminist geographies became widespread in the mid 1970s, focusing on how gender and space are mutually produced and transformed (Pratt, 2009a). Nevertheless, not until mid 1980s did geographers begin to pay attention to ‘questions about the ways in which sexualities are geographical, or the question of how spaces and places are sexualised’ (Brown et al, 2007, p2). The following discussion explores diverse theoretical and empirical progresses made by geographical work on gender and sexualities subsequently.

2.4.1 Gender and feminist geographies

Feminist geographies emerged from the early 1970s, being strongly inspired by the women’s movement during the 1960s and the 1970s (Nelson and Seager, 2005). Feminism has been regarded as a contested concept and there have been different approaches within feminist geographies (Rose et al, 1997). However, Pratt (2009a) points out a shared tendency among feminist geographers that ‘they are critical, not only of gender oppression and various manifestations of heteronormativity in society, but of the myriad ways that these are reproduced in geographical knowledge (p245).’ In this regard, sexism within geographical institutions and knowledge production has been challenged (Massey, 1991; Gregson et al, 1997; McDowell, 1990; Rose, 1993).

Pratt (2009b, p 268) defines gender as ‘a categorical distinction between men and women; a technology of classification that naturalises sexual difference and is intertwined with other distinctions, such as nature/culture, and racial and national differentiation’. This definition emphasises how the concept of gender has been studied within geography (as a social category). Early feminist geographers mainly explored ‘geographies of women’ which emphasised how different women’s experiences were from masculine-oriented norms (Gregson et al, 1997). Women’s roles as caregivers, housewives or mothers in relation to their experiences of spatial constraint have hence been a key focus (Bondi, 2004; Wekerle and Whitzman, 1994). Nonetheless, recent geographical work on gender has included men (work on masculinities), even though gender traditionally explored women’s status and work (Bell and Valentine, 1995a). In particular, feminist geographers have focused on understanding how spaces shape and are shaped by gender roles, relations and identities. Also, there has been geographical work exploring the ways in which a variety of femininities and masculinities are constructed in and through spaces as well as how particular spaces become gendered (Laurie et al, 1999; van Hoven and Hörschmann, 2005). Moreover, the significance of contextual understanding of gender identity and its intersection with other social differences such as race, class, and religion have been recognised (Bondi and Davidson, 2005).

Nelson and Seager (2005) point out that ‘the work of making- and keeping- women’s lives visible is far from complete, and such projects remain at the heart of feminist geography (p3)’. Some feminist geographers have drawn on Marxian theories to explore the intersection between gender, space and the development of capitalism (Pratt, 2009a). For example, Massey’s (1984) work has explored processes of spatial and gendered dimensions of economic restructuring in which gendered assumptions were challenged. Nelson and Seager

(2005) point out that in 1980s, feminist geographers also engaged with issues such as women and development, and that this work had formed a foundation for later feminist work on globalisation and transnational processes.

Beginning in the late 1980s, many feminist geographers became concerned with the concept of 'difference'. Consequently, the singular nature of 'woman' as a subject identity became disputed (Nelson and Seager, 2005). Since then, feminist geographers have strove to understand gender in conjunction with other social differences such as classes, races, ethnicities, ages, (dis)abilities, religions and nationalities (Pratt, 2009a). Through this conceptualisation, more understandings of women who are positioned in a variety of ways along different axes of difference can be achieved. Katz and Monk's (1993) edited work, *Full Circles*, revealed diverse experiences of women throughout their lifecourse in different countries. This book not only explored differences among women but also highlighted the importance of place (also see Momsen and Kinnaird, 1993).

Since the early 1990s, feminist geographers also began to adopt a broader range of social and cultural theories including psychoanalysis, post-colonialism, post-structuralism and queer theory, in order to develop a fuller understanding of how gender relations and identities are shaped and assumed (Nelson and Seager, 2005; Pratt, 2009a). This resulted in a fundamental reconceptualisation of the category of gender, and led feminist scholars to further explore contradictions and diversities presented by the seeming instability of gender. Gender is typically understood through being contrasted to 'sex'. The former is understood as a social construction, while the latter is assumed to be a natural category defined by biology (Gregson et al, 1997). Pratt (2009b) points out that this theorisation of gender has contributed to the

denaturalisation of conventional understandings of womanhood and femininity, to position women as culturally and socially constructed subjects. However, in this case, nature/culture dualism is repeated, as gender is destabilised through essential understandings of sex (Pratt, 2009b).

Butler's (1990, 1993) work on the theorisation of sex and gender has been influential among feminist geographers and encouraged the exploration of gender and gender identities in relation to sex and sexuality. For Butler, both sex and gender are socially constructed and they can only be understood in the context of the regulatory regimes of heterosexuality (Pratt, 2009b). Butler (1990) has argued that gender identities are not what people have or are, but that they acquire and negotiate these identities through repetitive gender performances which conform with or challenge social notions of sex and heterosexuality. As a result, Butler's work not only expands feminist geographers' theorisation of gender and sex, but also its implication of intersected gender and sexual identities leads gender geographers to turn their attention to the issue of sexualities too. Before discussing how geographies of sexualities focus on the mutual construction between space and notions of sexualities, the conceptualisations of identities and subjectivities need to be explored. These two terms have had great impacts on debates within various sub-disciplines of geography, including geographies of gender and sexualities. The term, identity, has been considered to be a highly contested concept. Valentine (2001b) summaries that early understandings of identities were assumed to reflect a core or fixed sense of self and were conceptualised in terms of social differences such as class, gender and race while more contemporary theorizations highlight the multiple, fluid and unstable nature of identities.

The prioritising conception of fixed identities, based on an assumption of a self-sustaining

and conscious entity in the Enlightenment, was critiqued in different disciplines since the early 1900s (Dubow, 2009). Althusser's work has been influential on displacing the traditional understandings of identity and the human subject by suggesting that identities should be seen as conditional and contingent; in the process, he highlighted the significance of a social structure over a self-sustaining entity (Dubow, 2009). The impacts of psychoanalysis on conceptualising identities are also evident. Freud's 'discovery' of the unconscious and Lacan's theorization of unresolved and irresolvable identities further challenged understandings of the 'self-knowing' individual and stable identities. Moreover, post-colonial and post-structuralist studies suggest the significance of a fictive Otherness in constructing identities (Butler, 1990; Butler et al, 2000). These shifting understandings of identities do not only reveal their fluid nature but also reflect changing conceptions of the human subject (Dubow, 2009).

In this context, the question of identification becomes important, as it signifies the processes through which subjects search for a resolved self by investing in different identities. Hall's work (1996, p5-6) perfectly illustrates the interrelated constitution of identity, subject and subjectivity: "I use 'identity' to refer to the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourse and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'". Therefore, understandings of identities and subjectivities are considered to be inseparable and it is necessary to explore the interrelationships between identities and subjectivities from the perspective of conceptions of the latter.

Subject/subjectivity is considered to ground our understandings of who we are, as well as our

knowledge claims (Pratt, 2009c). Gorman-Murray et al (2010) refer to subjectivities as social traits of individuals, which are not simply held by individuals but are subject to wider social and cultural norms constructed in networks of social power. Thomas (2008) also emphasises the sociality of the understanding of subjectivity. She argues that the concept of subjectivity which posits the self, the I, is fundamentally social, even while it is often shaped through highly personal experiences (i.e. processes of identification). Pratt (2009c) refers to Soper's suggestion of distinguishing debates about the human subject between humanist and anti-humanist conceptions of subjectivity. Humanist versions of subject formation emphasise human agency and take identity as given in experiences. However, anti-humanists consider subjectivity as an outcome of subjection to social ideologies or regulatory techniques and question the capacity and the authority of individuals to direct their actions self-consciously and autonomously (Pratt, 2009c). As part of the anti-humanist accounts, post-structural theories also contribute largely to the debates on subject formation. Pratt (2009c) summaries two characteristics of post-structural conceptualization of subject formation: subject formation is viewed as an effect of power relations; and the boundaries of defining identities are closely intertwined with processes of disidentification. The latter feature relates to another key issue of the contemporary theorization of subject formation, which seeks to explore how people could come to understand themselves without creating stigmatized others and hierarchies of difference (Pratt, 2009c).

As the discussion above demonstrates, it is better to understand identities and subjectivities as relationally produced. In short, subjectivities which make unique individuals are constituted through the processes of identification and disidentification; this means subjects position themselves into different social categories in terms/in relation to of gender, race, class in order to construct the self. However, Butler's (1993) conceptualisation of identities as

performative further complicates the never finished projects of constructing identities and subjectivities. It is worth citing Hall's (1996, p4) words again here to remind us of how to adopt the concepts of identities and subjectivities in research: 'not "who we are" or "where we came from", so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves'. The next session turns to studies of geographies of sexualities.

2.4.2 Geographies of gay men and lesbians

Although traditionally geography has been regarded as 'squeamish' about sexual matters (McNee, 1984), studies relating to sexualities emerged in mid 1980s. Since then, the importance and influences of this relatively young field has steadily spread by being taught at universities (mainly in the UK and US), an abundance of research being carried out, and other sub-disciplines' engaging with the issue of sexualities within geography (Brown et al. 2007). The work which focuses on understanding gay men and lesbians' use of space in urban context is generally regarded as one of the earliest geographical engagements with sexualities (Bell et al, 1994; Bell and Valentine, 1995b; Binnie and Valentine, 1999; Brown et al, 2007). Such studies argued that lesbians' and gay men's different lifestyles produced a variety of spatial expressions which created distinct residential and commercial landscapes (Castells, 1983, Knopp, 1987, 1992; Lauria and Knopp, 1985). The work of Castells (1983) on gay and lesbian spaces in San Francisco is widely noted. His research illustrated that the spatial concentration of gay men was more evident than lesbians which reflected gender differences in the claiming of territory. Castells' explanation about the comparative invisibility of lesbian communities has provoked many subsequent rejoinders, which have also challenged the previous work on sexualities which mainly focused on geographies of gay men to the

exclusion of other sexual identities and subject positions (Bell and Valentine, 1995a).

Adler and Brenner (1992) challenged Castells' assumption about the lack of identifiable lesbian spatial concentrations. They revealed that lesbians did concentrate at a neighbourhood scale, but 'the neighbourhood has a quasi-underground character; it is enfolded in a broader counter-cultural milieu and does not have its own public subculture and territory' (Adler and Brenner, 1992, p31). Podmore (2001) argued that it is problematic to study lesbian spaces through the 'overrated' concept of visibility. Moreover, Rothenberg (1995) suggested that lesbians not only concentrate spatially driven by social networking but also contribute to the local gentrification. However, local gentrification may eventually have a negative outcome (such as growing house rent) and create processes of displacement for lesbians (Rothenberg, 1995). Valentine (1993a, 1993b, 1995) also explored diverse experiences and landscapes of lesbians under prevailing heterosexual dominance. She argued that heterosexuality not only regulates sexuality in private space but also 'polices' sexual dissidents in everyday environments. As such, the focus of geographical studies of sexualities broadened beyond the inner city and incorporated discussion of home, work, and street (Johnston and Valentine, 1995).

Across the literature considered above, there was a shifting focus of early research interest in mapping gay and lesbian spaces towards exploring more complicated relationships between sexualities, spaces and wider social processes. Knopp (1992, 1995) has illustrated that urban gentrification was triggered by the development of gay communities in revealing the links between sexuality and capitalism. Some other researchers explored sexual cultures of consumptions and the production of sexualised space (Bell and Binnie, 2004; Binnie, 1995).

However, while the urban studies of sexualities became more diverse, geographers were also criticised for neglecting lesbians' and gay men's experiences in the rural. Nonetheless, Binnie and Valentine (1999) pointed out that there was an upsurge of interest in exploring sexual geographies in rural areas in the mid 1990s. Before that, the assumption that lesbians and gay men lived in urban environments was greatly taken for granted (Bell and Valentine, 1995a, b). Kramer's (1995) work on lesbians and gay communities in rural North Dakota illustrates different spatial experiences compared with their urban fellows. Bell and Valentine (1995b) demonstrated in their work on rural Britain that rural dwellers who engaged in same-sex activities did not necessarily self-identify as lesbians or gays due to lack of developed lesbian or gay communities. Binnie and Valentine (1999) have highlighted the importance of studying rural sexual geographies by arguing 'the urbanity of lesbian and gay existence only really becomes visible when contrasted with the rural (p178)'. Lately, Smith and Holt (2005) discuss lesbian migration and consumption practices within processes of rural gentrification. However, the geographical research on rural sexualities is still an underexplored area to date.

The aforementioned opposition between urban and rural work on sexualities also raises the importance of exploring different spatialities in studying sexual geographies. Some geographers have investigated how space and sexualities are mutually constituted at different scales, such as national, international and transnational. The notion of sexual citizenship has been adopted by many geographers to explore the relationship between the state and sexualities within work on the state's regulation of public sex and sadomasochism, and HIV/AIDS activism (Bell, 1994, 1995a, b; Brown, 1994, 2006). Also, Binnie's (1995, 1997b) work on transnational migrations illustrates the link between consumption and sexual citizenship. These studies suggest the importance of studying sexual geographies at different scales to reveal diverse spatialities of sexualities.

The initial interest of geographers focusing on sexually marginalised groups remains prevalent. As stated above, most studies focus on the relationship between gay and lesbian identities and the production of space. However, heterosexuality, as the predominant sexuality, was not paid much attention to by geographers until later. The next section turns to geographical research on heterosexuality to further understand the complexity of the spatial construction of sexual identities.

2.4.3 Deconstruction of heterosexuality

Geographical studies of lesbians and gay men demonstrate that sexually marginal groups often cannot express their sexualities freely and feel 'out of place' in their daily life, because everyday spaces are heterosexed. Therefore, among these studies, homosexuality and heterosexuality are theorised oppositely and spaces are conceptualised as either 'straight' or 'gay' (Hubbard, 2000). However, despite sizable research on the relationships between lesbian and gay identities and the production of space, there have not been many geographers focusing on the dominant form of sexuality, heterosexuality per se (Bell and Valentine, 1995a). Nevertheless, the importance of interrogating assumed monolithic heterosexuality and the spatiality of different forms of heterosexual relations, has been noted (Hubbard, 2000). Hubbard (2008) argues that it is important to explore the many possible articulations of heterosexual desire that are included or excluded within a dominant construction of 'heteronormativity'. Recently, geographers have recognised that there are different forms of heterosexuality (Brown et al, 2007). This theorisation of heterosexuality is informed by queer theory, which destabilizes any established categories, particularly gender, sex, and sexuality (Brown, 2009)

Yet long before geographers of sexualities begun queering heterosexuality, feminist geographers completed many studies exploring how gender relations create (hetero)sexualised urban landscapes and how heterosexual relations are reproduced within the home, the workplace, and public space (Bondi, 1992, 1998; McDowell, 1995, 1997, 1999). Among these studies, the concept of patriarchy has been widely adopted to explain the processes and the outcomes of women's subordination to men. As a consequence, it was the patriarchy that needed to be challenged while the outer framework of heterosexuality was still represented as natural and unproblematic (Hubbard, 2000). However, this is not to say that there has not been any geographical work on investigating heterosexuality. Studies of prostitution are exceptions and they have been the most evident and persistent focus of studying geographies of heterosexuality (Valentine, 2009).

Symanski (1981) was one of the earliest geographers to depict geographies of prostitution. He did not only discuss the locations of sex shops and clubs but also pointed out that there were different sites for different types of clients and prostitutes to encounter each other. Symanski's work prompted later geographers to consider sites of all kinds associated with the sex industry. Hart's (1995) work on the Spanish red-light district explored how clients and prostitutes (and the relationship between them) constructed the meaning of the site and in turn how their identities were constructed by the place. The work of Mort (1998) on 1950s London suggested that there was a link between greater visibility of 'deviant' sexual places and distinctive styles of consumption. Areas of gay and lesbian cultures were mapped out as sites generating consumption in a variety of forms. Other research demonstrates that places of selling sex are often under strict sociospatial regulations driven by public moral panic (Hubbard, 1998, 1999, 2002; Hubbard and Saunders, 2003).

Hubbard (2000) demonstrates that there are normative and non-normative heterosexualities which produce different social spaces. To be more specific, he argues that there are moral and immoral orders in heterosexuality through which moral and immoral landscapes are created. For example, the prostitute, in particular, is the main figure who represents heterosexual immorality and indicates the existence of immoral landscapes (Hubbard, 2002). Sibley's (1995) notions of the boundary and social exclusion are also useful to explain the marginalisation of these immoral landscapes, which represent the clear separation between immoral heterosexuality and respectable heterosexuality. However, the nature of moral and immoral spaces is not fixed, as Hubbard's (2002) work explores that the state's legislation to clean the streets of sex advertising is an attempt to maintain a clear border between them.

Hubbard (2008) also highlights the importance of exploring how spaces are produced through exploring heterosexual practices. It is also suggested elsewhere that much more geographical work needs to be conducted to 'understand the mundane processes with everyday expressions of heterosexuality are (re)produced in social space (Brown et al. 2007, p11)'. There has been some work on sex tourism (Brown, 2000; Law, 1997), BDSM⁷ (Herman, 2007) and 'dogging'⁸ (Bell, 2006). The necessity to disturb the 'truth regimes' of sexuality is suggested, as it can work to deconstruct the myth of a monolithic and dominant heteronormality which results in discriminations and exclusions of LGBT communities (Hubbard, 2007). More recent geographical work on disrupting the notion of heteronormativity is deeply informed by queer theory.

⁷ It is an abbreviation for bondage, discipline and sadomasochistic.

⁸ 'Dogging refers to a complex set of sexual practices which centre on forms of public sex, voyeurism and exhibitionism, 'swinging', group sex and partner swapping' (Bell, 2006, p388)

2.4.4 Geographies of sexualities gone queer

Queer theory initially emerged in the 1980s and 1990s within the humanities departments in US universities (Brown et al, 2007). However, it has become influential to social sciences as well as human geography. Brown et al (2007) have pointed out that British geographers adopted queer theory first then American geographers. This has been partly attributed to the more conservative outlook of American geography departments and also reflected different approaches geographers on both sides to studying gay communities (Knopp, 1998). Broadly, British geographers have been more concerned with cultural politics of resistance while American geographers have focused on gay economic and political power. Binnie (1997a) has argued that geographers have neglected the study of sexual dissidents and have not placed them on the agenda of geographical research. Therefore, he has further challenged the marginalisation of sexual dissidents within geography and discussed better methodological and epistemological frameworks in promoting their interest (e.g. the significance of camp).

Although queer theory has been taken up by geographers particularly those studying gender and sexual identities, the task of defining it has been far from easy. Brown (2009, p612) has suggested that queer theory is 'a panoply of always-questioning and destabilising theoretical and intellectual movements that centre on the significance and complexities of sexualities and genders'. Hubbard (2007) has also pointed out that the central notion of queer theory is the desire to disrupt and deconstruct not only the primarily binary opposition between heterosexual and homosexual, but also dichotomies between sex and gender, mind and body, self and other and so on. However, in general, there have been two ways in which queer theory is referred to. First, queer theory is used loosely to indicate work on gay and lesbian studies. Second, as an instance of post-structuralism and post-modernism, queer theory is

conceptualised as a theoretical standpoint particularly focusing on challenging the ubiquity of heteronormativity. The latter understanding of queer theory is suggested to be able to destabilise any fixed notions of gender and sexuality (Brown, 2009). However, not only identities, but also desires and practices and correspondence between them are what queer theory challenges in order to disrupt the hegemony of heterosexuality (Brown et al, 2007).

Butler's (1990, 1993, 1997) work on theories of performativity provides important insights on which queer theorists have drawn. Butler has suggested that gender identities are constructed through people's repetitive bodily performances which conform to social and discursive conventions. Through this, people's bodies are sexed and become recognisable as male or female. Geographers of sexuality have explored how repetitions of heterosexual relations have sexualised everyday spaces whether in the city, the street or the home (Bell et al, 1994; Johnston and Valentine, 1995; Valentine, 1993a, 1993b, 1995). More recently, geographers have also sought to explore how spaces are sexualized, intertwining with other social differences. In other words, geographers have not only challenged the hegemony of heterosexuality but also have begun to explore multiple diversities existing under the seemingly unitary categories of gay or lesbian (Nast, 2002; Haritaworn, 2007). Therefore, not only heteronormativity but also 'homonormativity' are challenged (Brown et al, 2007).

Another important insight from queer theory is to go beyond the dichotomy of heterosexuality and homosexuality. Hemmings's (1995, 1997, 2002) work on bisexuality has revealed how sexuality has been understood as being either heterosexual or homosexual. As a result, places have been often theorised as straight or gay spaces. However, Hemmings has argued that the bisexual space is either gay or straight spaces, as bisexual identity is never

fully recognised or included in either of communities. Therefore, Hemmings suggests exploring the production of bisexual identity and its spaces through focusing on embodied acts and desires in relation to other queer bodies in particular queer spaces (Hemmings, 1997). There have also been studies on transgender identity (McCloskey, 1999; Hird, 2000). It is argued that people should have the right to choose which gender they want to be. This literature further complicates and deconstructs the intersection between sex and gender.

Through reviewing the influences brought by queer theory on geographical studies of gender and sexualities, it does not appear that queer theory has been fully accepted and adopted within the discipline without any resistance or hesitance. However, it apparently and continuously has impacts on inspiring geographers' further theorisations of sex, gender and sexuality and exploring the ways in which they constitute and are constituted by space of all kinds.

2.5 Conclusion

This Chapter has reviewed three bodies of literature which inform the theoretical framing of this thesis: geographies of education, geographies of children, and geographies of gender and sexualities. As education has been argued to be crucial to labour and social reproduction, geographers have been interested in a variety of spatial expressions of production, consumption and attainment of education. However, the majority of geographical work, as the review shows, either focuses on impacts that education brings on wider social processes or highlights the effects which arise within educational systems/settings. This inward/outward looking binary has become more evident with Thiem's (2009) proposition of promoting the later approach as the future agenda for geographies of education. Yet, the risk of adopting

either inward or outward-looking approaches is to suggest that the impacts of education on wider processes are irrelevant to what is happening within education systems/settings.

Therefore, in order to challenge the dichotomy of inward- and outward-looking approaches, the thesis aims to explore the role of education in wider society as well as its practices within schools. In order to achieve this, firstly, the thesis is going to analyse the Gender Equity Education Act to examine what it is for and how its objectives relate to wider social processes. Secondly, this research attempts to reveal how the GEEA is implemented in schools. In particular, by illustrating school policies and cultures, teaching practices and peer interactions, the research focuses on exploring how schools matter in constructing young people's gender and sexual identities. Finally, through carrying out both outward and inward analyses, this thesis also seeks to deepen the theorisation of the educational institutions as not prefixed or bounded spaces.

In terms of reviewing literature on children's geographies, it is appropriate to understand that childhood is a socially, temporarily and spatially constructed concept. Also, the understanding of children as social actors has been demonstrated by a variety of geographical work focusing on everyday places. In particular, the spatiality of children and young people's identity formation has been an important theme. However, there are some absences among the research. Firstly, most studies were carried out in the Global North (US and UK in particular), although there are some exceptions, which explore children's experiences in the Global South (Ansell, 2002 and 2008). Nevertheless, young people's experience in East Asia is greatly absent from current geographical work on children. Secondly, through emphasising children's competence and agency as social actors, there has been a tendency in literature to presume that children either 'reproduce' or 'resist' dominant discourse (Ansell, 2002). This tendency

also relates to another underexplored field in children's geographies; there has not been sufficient geographical work focusing on inner contradictions experienced by young people in exercising their agency (except Thomas, 2008).

To address these gaps in our understanding, this thesis aims to explore young people's experiences beyond US and UK context. By focusing on Taiwanese case study, this thesis highlights the importance of the East Asian social-spatial context in constructing young people's gender and sexual identities in schools. The research also seeks to explore a more complex understanding about children's agency in forming their gender and sexual identities. To be specific, this thesis intends to explore the ways in which young people come to understand their own and other's gender and sexual identities including notions of masculinity, femininity, gender relation and sexuality. By focusing on contradictions and constraints experienced in the process of young people understanding and interpreting the discourse of 'gender equity', this thesis intends to further broaden the understanding of children's agency. Yet, central to the research is to understand how young people's gender and sexual identity formation is closely related to various social practices in school spaces.

Geographies of gender and sexualities have demonstrated the significance of exploring spatialities of gender and sexual identities. In particular, they have not only enhanced theorisation of gender in relation to sexuality, but also have challenged any binary opposition which works to maintain ubiquity of heteronormativity. However, there are some gaps among those studies. Firstly, institutional spaces have not been a primary focus for gender geographers and it has been greatly absent from work of geographies of sexualities. Some educational scholars have explored gender, sexuality and schooling by focusing on adults-teachers/children-pupils relation, peer culture and sex education (Epstein and Johnson, 1994;

Kehily, 2002; Renold, 2005). However, the spatialities of schools in relation to shaping young people's gender and sexuality have been underexplored. Secondly, geographers of sexualities in particular have neglected young people's experiences of constructing their sexual identities (exception Johnston and Valentine, 1995; Valentine et al, 2003). This absence can be attributed to the common-sense assumption of children as asexual. However, it has been challenged as a misleading statement (Epstein and Johnson, 1994). Thus, it is important for geographies of sexualities to be attentive to explore young people's experiences of constructing their sexualities. Thirdly, informed by the queer theory, geographers of sexualities have attempted to further interrogate the intersection of sexualities and other social differences. In terms of deconstructing homonormativity, there have also been studies to explore how homosexuality is constructed within class, racial and ethnic norms (Haritaworn, 2007; Nast, 2002). However, there has not been any work considering how sexualities might also be shaped in relation to 'age'.

In consideration of the above theoretical and empirical lacunae, it is central for this thesis to explore how schools become gendered as well as sexualised places for young people. The research aims are formulated by crosscutting literature for further theoretical debates. The first aim challenges the dualistic approach in educational geographies. The second aim draws on both children's geographies and gender geographies to illustrate young people's complex experiences in shaping their gender identities. The third aim brings children's geographies and sexual geographies together to explore the ways in which young people construct their sexual identities. Specifically, the three aims of this thesis are,

- To challenge the dichotomy of inward- and outward-looking approaches in geographies of education by focusing on the introduction of the GEEA in institutional spaces in

schools and their links to wider spaces.

- To expand the construction of childhood and the gender model in existing geographical research by exploring young people's contested understandings of gender identities and how they become gendered subjects under the GEEA.
- To challenge the lack of focus on young people and institutional spaces in geographies of sexuality by revealing young people's sexualisation and the age-dependent nature of sexuality reproduced in schools under the GEEA.

In order to fulfil above research aims, this thesis has to collect data empirically by focusing on the GEEA and its implementation in Taiwanese schools. To understand how the GEEA is put into practice in institutional spaces, the research will examine this issue at different levels. This thesis has to analyse the GEEA as the State's policy. As for its implementation in schools, multiple dimensions of school cultures are explored including school policy, teaching practices and pupil cultures. The strategies to collect data at different levels are thus organised as four research questions,

- What are the aims of the GEEA and how were these shaped by the Taiwanese policy context?
- How is the GEEA being implemented within schools?
- How do those responsible for implementing the GEEA in the classroom seek to shape young people's gender and sexual identities?
- How do young women's experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures under the GEEA shape their understandings of young people's gender and sexual identities?

These research questions are empirically essential for achieving the research aims. Answers

to these questions provide evidences in relation to the argument of this thesis. Specifically, Chapter Eight demonstrates the ways in which the research aims are fulfilled by bringing findings together.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter illustrates what and how different research methods were adopted to answer research questions identified in Chapter Two. Both discourse analysis and interviews were utilised to explore the first research question of the production of the GEEA in the Taiwanese policy context. The other research questions in relation to the way in which schools' policies, teaching practices and peer cultures shape young people's gender and sexual identities were mainly explored through semi-structured interviews. The supplementary technique of class observation was also carried out in the initial stage of the research is also demonstrated. Moreover, this Chapter discusses ethical issues when working with children including access, informed consent, confidentiality, harm, and empowering research. Nevertheless, before exploring above methodological issues, a brief introduction of Taiwan is provided next. This is to highlight the cultural specificity of this research embedded within the East Asian context.

3.2 Taiwan profile

The Qing Dynasty in Mainland China had ruled Taiwan for two hundred and twelve years before it was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). As a result, Taiwan was ceded and became Japan's colony for fifty years until 1945 (Government Information Office, 2010). During the colonial period, the Japanese had speeded up the modernisation and industrialisation of Taiwan and had great impacts on infrastructure, urban planning, transportation, medical, and public school system on this island (Government Information

Office, 2010). In 1945, Japan's rule of Taiwan ended after it lost World War II. The Republic of China (ROC, founded in 1912 through revolutionary wars to overturn the Qing Dynasty) regained Taiwan's sovereignty. In 1949, during the Chinese Civil War, the ROC government retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan, commonly known as the current Taiwanese government. In the same year, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on Mainland. Since then, the PRC has claimed that the ROC was not longer an existing entity, and the PRC is the sole and only China (Anti-Secession Law, 2005, PRC). The PRC also claims its sovereignty over Taiwan. This historical and political puzzle has contributed to current disputes and complicated relationships between China and Taiwan. It also has great impacts on Taiwanese people's everyday life and on Taiwan's international relations with other countries.

3.2.1 An overview of Taiwan

The official area of Taiwan is 36,191 Km² (other small islands included). To the west, the main island is separated from China (to its southeast) by the 200-kilometer-wide Taiwan Strait. To the east is the Pacific Ocean. To the northeast are the main lands of Japan. To the south lie the Philippines. As for the landscape, there are mountains ranging from the northern to the southern tip of Taiwan. These mountains also create very different landscapes, as the east part of the island mostly consists of rugged mountains and the flat plains are in the west where most of Taiwan's population and cities are situated. The climate of Taiwan is subtropical (Tourism Bureau, 2010). The average temperature is 20 to 25°C. Even in the coldest month (e.g. February), the temperature is often more than 10°C (Central Weather Bureau, 2010).

According to the official statistics as of 2009, the total population of Taiwan is around twenty-three million. Seventy percent of the population live in urban areas (Ministry of the Interior, 2010). There are two main ethnic groups of Taiwanese population. The Han consists of ninety-eight percent of population, although it contains three ethnic subgroups⁹. The other two percent of Taiwanese population is known as Taiwanese indigenous people who are divided into fourteen subgroups (Council of Indigenous People, 2010). There have been tensions between different ethnic groups in Taiwan, in particular between the Han and the indigenous people as well as between the ‘native Taiwanese’ and ‘Waishengren’. However, these tensions are different from those ethnic conflicts that have occurred in other countries due to the skin colour or religious belief. Apart from these three subgroups of Han ethnicity and the Taiwanese indigenous people, immigrants from Southeast Asia¹⁰ are increasing and are now known as the fifth ethnic group or ‘new residents of Taiwan’. These immigrants come to Taiwan for work or because they marry Taiwanese husbands (Council of Labour Affairs, 2010; Ministry of the Interior, 2010). Mandarin is recognised as the official language in Taiwan. Through education, now it is spoken as the common language by different ethnic groups. However, each ethnic subgroup also speaks their own language. According to the number of registered members¹¹ as of 2008, main religions in Taiwan are Taoism, Protestantism, I-Kuan Tao, Christianity and Buddhism (Ministry of the Interior, 2009).

⁹ These three ethnic subgroups are Min-Nan (seventy percent of Taiwanese population), Hakka (fifteen percent of Taiwanese population) and Waishengren (thirteen percent of Taiwanese population, those who migrated to Taiwan from China from 1945 to 1949).

¹⁰ Immigrants from Southeast Asia to Taiwan primarily include people from Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, and Vietnam (Council of Labour Affairs, 2010).

¹¹ According to official statistics, the ratio of religiously registered members is only six percent of the total population in Taiwan.

3.2.2 Politics and economy

Taiwan currently has diplomatic relations with 23 nations¹² in East Asia and Pacific, Central and Southern American, Africa and Europe (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010). As the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution to recognise that ‘the representatives of the Government of the People’s Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758, 1971)’, Taiwan has lost its seat at the UN to China since 1971. Also, since 1993, Taiwan’s continuous attempts to regain representation at the UN have been blocked (CATUN, 2008). Taiwan’s political status and complicated cross-strait relations with China has restricted its opportunities to participate in international organisations and to engage with international affairs as a country. However, Taiwan has succeeded to gain World Health Assembly (WHA) observer status in 2009. Taiwan¹³ is also a member of Asia-Pacific Economy Cooperation (APEC) since 1991. The current president, Ma Ying-Jeou (Kuomintang, KMT) won the presidential election in 2008 and ended eight years of Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) rule.

Taiwan’s most important trade partners in sequence are China, Japan, the United States, the EU and South Korea. The per capita GNP¹⁴ for Taiwanese people is 16,997 (USD) as of 2009 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 2010). As for Taiwan’s industry structure, according to their percentage of the GDP in order are the service industry (69.16%), light and heavy industry (manufacturing industry included, 29.25%) and

¹² These diplomatic allies of Taiwan are Republic of Palau, Tuvalu, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands, Republic of Kiribati, Republic of Nauru, Republic of Guatemala, Republic of Paraguay, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Belize, Republic of El Salvador, Republic of Haiti, Republic of Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Republic of Honduras, Republic of Panama, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, Kingdom of Swaziland, Republic of The Gambia and the Holy See (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010).

¹³ The name used for Taiwan to be part of APEC is Chinese Taipei (APEC Official website, 2010). The title, Chinese Taipei, is also commonly used for Taiwan to participant in international organisations and all sporting events such as the Olympics. This title is employed as a compromise with China.

¹⁴ Gross National Product.

agriculture (1.6%) (Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2008). The technology-intensive electronics are Taiwan's primary exporting-products. As for importing, the most significant products for Taiwan are electronics, mineral resources and oil (Ministry of Finance, 2010). The Taiwanese government has conducted a survey since 2006 to award top global Taiwan brands. Some of the winners of 2009 are brands such as Acer (laptop), TrendMicro (anti-virus software), Asus (laptop), HTC (Smartphone), and Giant (bicycle) (Bureau of Foreign Trade, 2010).

3.2.3 Society and culture

During 1948 to 1949, the ROC government had imposed 'Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of Communist Rebellion' and 'Martial Law', because of Chinese Civil War. Therefore, after the ROC government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwanese people were continuously governed under these two laws which restricted people's rights stated in the Constitution (1947). Under these two laws, Taiwan was governed by the sole party, Kuomintang, as a one-party state. The Martial Law (1949) and Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of Communist Rebellion (1948) were lifted in 1987 and 1991. Since then, Taiwan has been gradually liberalised and democratised in ways such as deregulation of forming political parties and publishing newspapers.

However, before the aforementioned two laws were lifted in 1987 and in 1991, there were waves of social movements in Taiwan during 1980s. A variety of social issues had been raised by these collective campaigns, which included consumer movements, environmental movements, labour movements, women's movements, aboriginal movements and housing movements. The 1980s has been demonstrated as a significant stage at which Taiwanese

society was restructured and transformed by these forces coming from the general public (Chang, 1989). It has also been argued that this wave of social movements in 1980s in Taiwan has reflected collective will and actions to challenge and negotiate social meanings (Kao, 1989; Hsiao, 1989). Moreover, Hsia (1993) has argued that the inappropriateness to adopt the Western concept of class to analyse Taiwanese social movements in 1980s, as they were not class specific due to the complexity of participants.

Taiwanese cultures are hybrid and incorporate different elements from a variety of sources. Because of the historical and ancestral origin, there are influences of traditional Chinese culture in Taiwanese society. For example, in terms of written language, simple Chinese is used in China while Taiwanese people still use traditional Chinese. However, because of separating from China for more than one hundred years under Japan and the ROC government's rule, the cultures of Taiwan are also unique by mixing Japanese culture and local cultures from different ethnic groups. In particular, Japanese popular cultures still have great influences on Taiwanese society such as Karaoke (KTV), TV programmes, computer games, comic books, fashion etc (Cheng, 2004; Chi, 2001; Chuo, 2006; Lin, 2003; Tseng, 2001). Young people in Taiwan who are particularly fond of Japanese culture, fashions and celebrities are called Ha-Ri-Tsu. The impacts of Western cultures are also evident in Taiwan.

3.2.4 Education in Taiwan

The current education system in Taiwan consists of elementary school (6 years), junior high school (3 years), senior high school (3 years) and university (4 years). Currently, the period of compulsory education in Taiwan includes elementary and junior high school education. After graduating from junior high schools, apart from enrolling in senior high schools, pupils can

also go to vocational high schools (3 years) or colleges (5 years). The period of the study for the Master degrees is one to four year and for the PhD degree is two to seven years (Degree Conferral Law, 1935).

Education in Taiwan has always been academic achievement-oriented. Therefore, the notion and pressure of ‘teaching to tests’ has dominated school education in particular. However, there have been constant campaigns to seek to transform educational environments in Taiwan. In 1994, the 410 parade held on the tenth of April appealed to the government to take actions to diminish the scale of schools and the number of pupils in each class, to set up more high schools and universities, and to establish educational laws (Wu, 2004). The public was positive about this campaign, and therefore it had great impacts on initiating educational reform movements in Taiwan. The government responded to this public request by setting up the Education Reform Committee (1994-1996), which then produced a general report in 1996, as a foundation of education policy (Education Reform Committee, 2010). However, in 2003, a group of academics published an article to criticise the State’s educational reform policies having created more problems¹⁵ for education in Taiwan. Campaigns, which seek education reform, continue in Taiwan. Recently, the 712 parade held on the twelfth of July 2009 appealed to prolong the current period of compulsory education from nine to twelve years by including high school education.

As this thesis focuses on senior high schools, it is worth illustrating a typical day for school pupils in Taiwan. In general, pupils would have eight classes each day. Each class lasts fifty minutes. The timetable would appear as the table 3.1 shows.

¹⁵ This article pointed out a number of problems such as increasing pressure for school pupils, unsystematic curriculum, the decline of educational quality, the growing number of cramming schools, the increasing number of teachers retired, and unemployed teachers (Education Reform Alliance, 2003).

	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thu.	Fri
Before 7:30	Cleaning time				
07:30-08:00	Self learning time or School Assembly				
08:10-09:00	English	English	Math	Math	History
09:10-10:00	Career Planning	History	Home & economics	Math	Citizen & society
10:10-11:00	PE	Math	Home & economics	English	Chinese
11:10-12:00	Nursing & Health	Music	English	Citizen & society	Physics
12:00-13:00	Lunch Break				
13:10-14:00	Arts	Chinese	Chinese	PE	English
14:10-15:00	Math	Physics	Biology	Chinese	Thematic study
	Cleaning time				
15:10-16:00	Geography	Biology	Chinese	Geography	Class meeting
16:10-17:00	Math	Geography	English	Chinese	Club

Table 3.1: An example of school timetable for pupils in senior high schools

Pupils would have to be in schools before seven thirty in the morning, as some schools would ask pupils to do the cleaning work¹⁶ twice a day: one is before seven thirty in the morning and another is during the break time between classes in the afternoon. This means pupils would have to leave home early such as before seven (or even earlier) if they need to commute by the public transportation (usually train, bus or underground) to their school. Schools hold their general assembly, usually twice a week, between seven-thirty to eight. When there is no school assembly, pupils would have to be in the classroom for self learning or doing tests. As table 3.1 above shows, there is ten minutes break between classes and an hour for lunch. In Taiwanese schools, pupils would have their lunch in their classroom. It is not common that schools have a canteen or dining hall for pupils to eat their lunch. Pupils could bring their own lunch box or buy food in school shops. However, pupils are not

¹⁶ It is a common element of Taiwanese schooling to ask pupils doing the cleaning work including those in elementary schools. Pupils would be asked to clean their own classroom and each class would also be delegated to clean other indoor spaces such as teachers' office, school toilets, library. The cleaning tasks include, for example cleaning the blackboard, sweeping and wiping the floor, cleaning the window and emptying the rubbish bin. Some classes might be delegated to be responsible for cleaning tasks in open spaces within the school, such as picking up leaves and rubbish.

allowed to go out of school during the lunch break. After lunch, at twelve thirty, pupils would be required to take a nap in the classroom before they start their first class in the afternoon. When the school hour finishes at five in the afternoon, not all pupils could go home straight away after a long day. According to a national investigation conducted in 2003 (Hsu, 2003), more than half of school pupils in Taiwan attend cramming schools after school hours. The class in cramming schools could last three hours, usually starting at six-thirty in the evening. This means that more than half of school pupils would not be going home until after nine-thirty. After they go home, they would still have to finish their homework and prepare for the next day's exams.

The above descriptions depict a typical day for pupils in Taiwanese senior high schools. They demonstrate some characteristics of educational environments in Taiwan. First, pupils have a long and busy schedule everyday. On average, they spend ten to thirteen hours in their study everyday. Second, the school is a controlling space according to the fixed timetable, not allowing pupils to go out for lunch, and requiring every pupil to take a nap during the lunch break. Third, it is evident that pupils in Taiwan are under massive academic pressure because of their common experience to go to cramming schools after normal school hours. This section demonstrates the current phenomena of Taiwanese schools where the GEEA is required to be implemented.

3.3 Epistemology, methodology and research methods

Methodologies of different studies vary. These different approaches imply different philosophical thinking about how to access and produce knowledge. Graham (2005) outlines that there are many 'isms' in human geography, which signals the importance of philosophy

in geographical research. Kitchin and Tate (2000) also demonstrate that no research takes place in a philosophical vacuum. Therefore, the discussion of epistemology is important, as it relates to the legitimacy of knowledge production. In particular, positivism and critiques of it shape the discussion of different approaches to methodologies in social sciences.

Positivism, broadly defined, is the approach of natural science (Kitchin, 2006). The advocates of positivism believe that the legitimacy of natural sciences (e.g. physics, biology, and chemistry) is gained through scientific method, and therefore they are convinced that social scientists should adopt the same approach. The so-called 'Quantitative Revolution' in the late 1950s and the 1960s was based upon the ideas of positivism. Geographers at that time increasingly adopted quantitative methodologies to try to determine the spatial laws of human activity and geography, as a discipline, was self-identified as 'spatial science' (Kitchin, 2006; Robinson, 1998). However, in the 1960s and 1970s, the adoption of positivism by using quantitative methods was criticized from many different disciplines in social sciences as well as within geography. Some geographers, mainly humanist and Marxist scholars, criticized the assumption that spatial scientists could be objective and neutral observers and the reduction of people to abstract and rational subjects in the positivist explanatory framework and argued for the need to find alternatives to the quantitative paradigm (Robinson, 1998). However, it is feminist geographers' consistent critiques of positivism which have contributed to the debates on methodologies within geography from the 1990s onwards (Sharp, 2005).

Theoretically, feminists criticize the male-dominated thinking in the construction of knowledge and therefore feminist epistemology challenges masculinist science (Cope, 2002; Robinson, 1998). Feminists have pointed out that the positivist approach is male-oriented and they also reveal the neglect of the recognition of power relations and reflexivity in the

positivist research (Kitchin, 2006). In practice, feminist influences on methodology bring close scrutiny and politicization of all aspects of the research process (Valentine, 2001a). Madge et al. (1997) outline four characteristics of feminist geography methodologies in relation to ways of knowing: the masculinist ethnocentricity of existing knowledge, asking issues related to positions and power in the field, interpreting findings based on the understanding of situated knowledge, and writing about the researcher's positionality in final text. Moss (2002, p12) suggests that feminist methodology is not only about the design of research, modes of data collection, analysis and dissemination of results, but also highlights 'relationships among people involved in the research process, the actual conduct of the research, and process through which the research comes to be undertaken and completed'. The processes through which data is collected alone do not make research feminist. The way in which studies are conceptualised and how researchers perform as people (ethically, politically, socially, emotionally) while engaged in the process also need to be considered in constituting feminist research (Sharp, 2005).

Inspired by the debates related to feminist epistemology, the methodological approach of this thesis is based on the understanding that knowledge production is contextualised and partial (McDowell, 1992; Moss, 2002; Rose, 1997). Therefore, it is important to situate knowledge by discussing how the research was undertaken and how the data was collected through different methods. The limitations of different methods in terms of considering positionality and the context of data production will be discussed independently in section 3.5.

3.3.1 The selection of case study schools

The research was carried out in Taipei city for two reasons. First, the Taipei City Government

established the ‘Two Sexes Equity’¹⁷ Education and Sex Education Committee’ in 1996, which was the first governmental sector established related to gender equity education (TGEEA, 2008). Therefore, schools in Taipei were more used to the idea of gender equity education than in other areas. Second, according to interviews with members of the Gender Equity Education Committee in the central and the Taipei City governments, Taipei City was considered to be the area which took the GEEA more seriously than other regions in Taiwan. Moreover, this thesis focuses on the implementation of the GEEA in high schools because existing studies of the GEEA were largely conducted in primary schools and universities. This section explores the selection of case study schools and research methods for answering research questions (see Chapter Two).

Being public as well as coeducational schools in Taipei City were the criteria set for selecting case study schools in this thesis. Two reasons were considered for focusing on public schools rather than private schools. First, private schools had more flexible curriculum structure individually. Therefore, they might stand for a distinct model of implementing the GEEA from public schools because they were different in nature. Second, according to statistics, more than 70 percent of high school students registered for public schools (Department of Education, 2010). Therefore, by focusing on public schools, the research would reflect representative experiences of young people in high schools. The selection of co-educational schools was also based on reflecting the prevailing circumstances, as four out of fifth high schools in Taipei are coeducational environments (Department of Education, 2010).

However, the most crucial factor in selecting case study schools was to choose one seed school for gender equity education and another non-seed school for comparison. Every year,

¹⁷ The term, ‘two sexes equity’, highlights equity between men and women. However, ‘gender equity’, might mean equity between men and women in some cases, but now is often understood to emphasise both gender and sexual equity after the passing of the GEEA in 2004.

Taipei City Government assigns seed schools from its twelve districts (TGEEA, 2008). These seed schools would receive funding from the local government and would have to fulfil certain responsibilities (see section 5.2.3). Therefore, the researcher considered that the comparison of seed and non-seed schools would be useful to examine whether the intervention of local government has different impacts on how schools implement the GEEA.

A snowballing strategy was used, contacting the Taiwan Gender Equity Education Association (TGEEA) and personal network to recruit schools. At earliest stage, the researcher had access to get in touch with four schools (one seed school and three non-seed schools) and talked to the head teachers with written documents summarising the research aim, content, and interview prompt. All head teachers in four schools were positive about the research. However, they all considered teachers' consent as the most important factor for the researcher to conduct research in their schools, as the observation in class was part of the project.

Banyan¹⁸ High School was selected as the non-seed school in the research, because it was an average school in terms of pupils' academic achievements, compared with the other non-seed schools¹⁹. Therefore, the selection of Banyan High School served the research better to reflect a more general experience of schools' implementation of the GEEA. Also, the head teacher of Banyan High School was very positive about the research. Banyan High School is comparatively new (less than ten years) compared with most high schools in Taipei City. Banyan was a medium-size²⁰ school, which contained around 1,800 pupils across three

¹⁸ This is a pseudonym for this case school to maintain its anonymity. Banyan is the city flower of Taipei.

¹⁹ The other two non-seed schools to which the researcher had access, in terms of their pupil's academic attainments: one is in the top rank and the other is below the average. The school in the top rank is also a single-sex school.

²⁰ The number of pupils in public high schools in Taipei City varies from 900 to 4,000 (Department of Education, 2010).

grades/years from age 16 to 18.

While ‘class’ or ‘ethnicity’ are important analytical concepts in understanding the constitution of school pupils in Western countries, they play a less significant role in Taiwanese schools. The distinction of pupils from middle and working class families in relation to which schools they go to is more blurred. Taiwan is also dominantly homogeneous society where the ethnic group of Han is the majority. Moreover, pupils in Banyan High School did not necessarily come from the immediate neighbourhood but also from other districts in Taipei City. Some pupils commuted from other nearby cities everyday. Therefore, the constitution of pupils in the same school did not necessarily reflect their class, ethnicity and where they lived, but reflected their similar academic performances in the national test for applying for high schools.

As Banyan was a new school, it had a large ratio of young teachers²¹. The high-rise building (more than five floors) dominated the majority of school space in Banyan. Therefore, pupils had more access to indoor space than outdoor space. The school space in Banyan was new, dynamic and spacious. It is also important to note that lively atmosphere particularly came from relaxing and frequent interactions between teachers and pupils during break time, according to observations conducted.

Another case study school, Azalea²² High School was selected as the seed school in the

²¹ In Taiwan, if teachers want to teach in a particular high school, they have to have qualifications and attend a recruitment test (including paper and pencil test, interview and assessment of teaching experiences) held by that particular school. It is a very competitive and time-consuming process. Therefore, the mobility of school teachers is greatly restricted in Taiwan. When a new school is founded, it is more likely that newly qualified teachers will fill those teaching positions available. It is the reason why Banyan High School had more young teachers.

²² Azalea, as the city tree of Taipei is the pseudonym for this second case study school for maintaining its anonymity in this thesis.

research. As the research was introduced to some of the teachers in Azalea High School by a teacher in Banyan, some teachers had shown their interest in participating in the project before the researcher talked to the head teacher. Teachers' consent in advance proved to be positive, as it reduced the head teacher's concern about the difficulty of seeking teachers' cooperation. Azalea High School was founded longer than Banyan, four decades ago. In terms of pupils' academic attainments, Azalea was also an average school in Taipei City as Banyan, although the former had a better reputation than the latter²³. Also, as both Azalea and Banyan were average schools, the comparison between them (i.e. difference between the seed and non-seed schools) is more meaningful. Azalea was a small-size school. Compared to some other medium or large schools, it only contained less than 1,000 pupils.

Azalea shared the same features of pupil constitution with Banyan. It appeared that there was no evident class or ethnic distinction among its pupils. Young people also commuted to the school from other districts in Taipei City or nearby cities. As Azalea had been established for a long time, it had a comparatively large ratio of senior teachers. The school building was low (less than five floors) and pupils were located within the lowest three floors. Therefore, pupils had access to indoor as well as open spaces. The overall school atmosphere in Azalea was observed to be harmonious, stable and in control. However, in saying this, it does not suggest that Azalea High School was an inactive environment for learning. On the contrary, most teachers (particular in administrative sectors) seemed to feel attached to the school and responded to the research positively.

²³ The reason that Azalea has a better reputation than Banyan might relate to it being established for a long time. Moreover, in general, pupils in Azalea performed slightly better than those in Banyan.

3.3.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis was adopted in this thesis to answer the research question about the aims of the GEEA and how were these shaped by the Taiwanese policy context. Discourse analysis as a research technique is closely related to Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of 'discourse' (Rose, 2001; Waitt, 2005). In a simple way, a Foucauldian notion of discourse is defined as a 'group of statements which structure the way a thing is thought and the way we act on the basis of that thinking' (Rose, 2001, p136). However, it has been argued that it is difficult to give a singular definition of discourse, as it is employed in multiple ways in Foucault's work. The difficulty in defining discourse further complicates the question of what discourse analysis means. Waitt (2005) suggests that discourses analysis is to explore the outcomes of discourse, to identify the regulatory framework of producing and circulating discourse, and to reveal mechanisms to maintain particular discourses as 'common sense'.

Tonkiss (1998) has suggested that the discourse analysis can be conducted by including two aspects: to explore the social context of particular discourse and to examine the structure of discursive statements. In terms of focus on social contexts, Waitt (2005) suggests exploring the social event in which the text is produced and through what social network these events are framed. Therefore, this thesis has explored how the emergence of the GEEA was related to the developments of women's movements and educational reform movements in Taiwan (see Chapter Four). Through this, the research has illustrated the social phenomenon in which the GEEA was created. Moreover, positions of authors were also interrogated to understand the social authority of the text (Rose, 2001).

Discussions of the nature of discourse often focus on questions of sources, coding,

(in)coherence and persuasion (Fairclough, 2003; Rose, 2001; Waitt, 2005). In terms of finding the sources of conducting discourse analysis in this thesis, the GEEA was the primary focus to be scrutinised. However, the research also included other relevant texts to the GEEA (e.g. supplementary laws, governmental reports and meeting records) for exploring the intertextuality which helped to understand the ways meanings are mutually supported within these written texts (Waitt, 2005). In terms of exploring the coding of the GEEA, the research has explored key themes within it to reveal how it related to particular gender and sexual ideals (see Chapter Four). Through familiarity with the GEEA, the researcher also sought to be attentive to (in)coherence within the Act. By doing this, it helped to understand the GEEA was a social product and the structure of the discourse was not always coherent, flawless or unchallengeable. Moreover, through illustrating what and how statements were made to address key themes for persuasion within the GEEA, the research was able to understand constructions of 'truth' (Rose, 2001).

Rose (2001) has demonstrated that a discourse analysis which only focuses on social contexts and the organisation of discourse can be problematic, as it neglects the issue of 'social practices' of discourse. It is argued that one of major contributions of discourse analysis is to explore the 'effects' of discourse in influencing people's attitudes and actions (Waitt, 2005). In this sense, this thesis also focuses on the implementation of the GEEA in schools via the examination of discourse. This task is achieved by combining semi-structured interviews.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview is the most important method for this research, as it was adopted to address all four research questions. Interviewees were divided into three groups:

key informants beyond schools, teachers and young women. Interviews with key informants beyond schools focused on the production and implementation of the gender equity education policy at the central and local government scale, which relates to the first research question (see Chapter Four). Teachers in two case study schools were interviewed in order to address the second and third research questions: namely, how the GEEA was implemented within schools and in the classroom (see Chapter Five and Six). The fourth research question is addressed by interviews with young women, exploring their understandings of gender and sexual identities by focusing on their experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures under the GEEA (see Chapter Seven). All interviews were carried out in Chinese (Mandarin). They were also transcribed in Chinese to maintain the language specificity, which helped the researcher to analyse the interviews appropriately. Only quotes used in this thesis were translated into English.

3.3.3.1 Interviews with key informants beyond schools

Interviews with key informants beyond schools explored the social processes of campaigning, drafting, and implementing the GEEA in Taiwan. These interviewees included lawmakers of the GEEA, authors of the White Paper on Gender Equity Education (2010), and members of the Gender Equity Education Committee in the central and local government, governmental officers and NGO representatives as the table 3.2 shows (next page). Within eleven interviewees in total, nine of them were female the other two were male.

The researcher initially contacted these key informants by email or phone to explain the research project and seek their consent to the interview. After these key informants agreed to participate in the research, the decision of time and meeting place for the interview was also

confirmed by email or phone and based on key informants' preference. The interviews were conducted in either coffee shops or offices of key informants during the weekday. The questions asked by the researcher varied according to these key informants' different positions (see appendix 1, 2, 3, 4). However, in general, the researcher focused on their experiences of involvement in the gender equity education policies. In particular, these interviews were helpful to understand how the aims of the GEEA were shaped in the Taiwanese context. As some of the key informants had opportunities to visit schools in different parts of Taiwan, the researcher also explored their opinions about key issues in implementing the GEEA within the school. These key informants were given a consent form on the date of interview. All interviews with these key informants were audio recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Interviewee's status	The number of people interviewed
Law makers of the GEEA	3
Authors of White Paper on Gender Equity Education	3
Members of the GEEC in Ministry of Education	3
Members of the GEEA in Taipei City	2
Governmental Officers	4
NGO representatives	2
Total: 11 ²⁴ interviewees (Female: 9; Male: 2)	

Table 3.2 Interviews with key informants

3.3.3.2 Interviews with teachers in schools

In total, twenty-eight teachers were interviewed (Azalea: twelve; Banyan: sixteen), as table 3.3 shows (see below). The gender ratio of interviewees was close, as there were fifteen

²⁴ Some interviewees have more than one status. It is the reason that the number of total interviewees is less than the total sum of people shown in the table.

female and thirteen male teachers interviewed. Those who were interviewed were school managers²⁵, class teachers who also members of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC, and other class teachers. The researcher sought to interview members of the GEEC in schools, because they were more exposed to the GEEA and supposed to play an important role in the schools' implementation of the GEEA. In both schools, the members of the GEEC included school managers and representatives of class teachers in different subjects or of teacher unions. In this case, they provided representative opinions. The researcher also interviewed other class teachers who gave their consent for the class observation (see section 3.3.4).

	School managers	Class teachers & member of the GEEC	Class teachers	Female/male
Azalea	8	1	3	F: 6; M: 6
Banyan	5	10	1	F: 9; M: 7
In total: 28 interviewees (Female: 15; Male: 13; Aged around 25 to 50)				

Table 3.3 Interviews with teachers

Interviews were carried out in a variety of places according to teachers' preference such as teachers' offices, the library and the classroom. All interviews were conducted during teachers' spare time in schools in consideration of teachers' heavy workload and long working time. Most interviews lasted around two hours.

Interviews are considered to enable the researcher to obtain data in more depth. Kitchen and Tate (2000) illustrate that the interview differs from the questionnaire with closed questions by facilitating a more thorough examination of people's experiences, feelings and opinions.

²⁵ They are also qualified teachers. However, their main role is responsible for administrative affairs. Therefore, they teach fewer hours than other class teachers. In this thesis, they are also referred to as the Head of particular administrative offices or as administrative teachers.

Another advantage of interviews is that they allow the researcher to discover what is significant to interviewees, to express their ideas in their own words (Dunn, 2005). In consideration of empowering research relations, the semi-structured interview was chosen. In this case, the researcher was also able to ensure the interview was relevant to the research questions and to compare participants' response towards to the issue (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). However, the order of asking questions varied and there was opportunity for participants' further elaboration on issues which concerned him/her the most to keep some flexibility to the field of inquiry and to create more equal research relations (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Questions discussed during the interview were formulated to understand how school policies and teaching practices affect the implementation of the GEEA within schools (see Chapter Five and Six). Specifically, interview questions focused on teachers' roles and experience of implementing the GEEA, their opinions about key issues of school's implementation of the GEEA, and the influence of the GEEA on their role as a schoolteacher in high schools (see appendix 5).

Discussions on interviewing practices often focus on how to build and maintain rapport with interviewees (Dunn, 2005; Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The significance of rapport is highlighted, because the interview is a complex social encounter rather than a simple activity of questioning and answering (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Therefore, developing a trusting relationship is considered crucial to the success of the interview. In fact, the establishment and maintenance of rapport is closely related to whether the researcher can carry out ethical research. When contacting teachers, the researcher always went in person and explained the research and participants' rights thoroughly before seeking teachers' consent for interviews. Before the interview began, the researcher gave the participant an overview of how the interview was going to proceed and the questions to be asked. As this thesis explores the

implementation of policy, it was particularly important for the researcher to present herself appropriately so as not to be considered as a spy of the government, 'assessing' teachers' performances (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Also, it was important to inform interviewees again about their right and how their anonymity and confidentiality would be protected. This helped to put participants at ease. These warm-up techniques were considered useful to enhance rapport (Dunn, 2005). The researcher then asked participants to sign 'the informed consent form' in order to begin the interview. However, the researcher found that signing the informed consent form delivered different messages. In a positive way, it made participants prepared for the interview. Nevertheless, sometimes it seemed to raise their unease because the form formalised the situation.

Most interviews were audio recorded with the teachers' agreement in advance though two teachers rejected the researcher's request to be audio-recorded. Apart from audio-recording, the researcher was also taking notes simultaneously. It has been considered that combining audio-recording and note-taking is the most useful strategy to be attentive to dialogue, to organise the prompt questions efficiently and maintain the natural flow of conversation (Dunn, 2005). The most important technique that the researcher learned was to recognise the value of silence. Dunn (2005) reminds the researcher to distinguish between 'reflective silence' and 'non-answering' and to allow interviewees to ponder. The researcher found that most of the time, the silence was valuable as participants often gave responses with more depth.

Audio-recordings of teacher interviews were transcribed word by word. The process of transcribing interviews enables the researcher to engage with data, which helped for preliminary analyses (Dunn, 2005). The finished transcripts were given back to teachers for

vetting and authorising. Only four teachers made minor corrections of particular terms. In terms of analyses, by following Kitchin and Tate's (2000) guide, the transcripts were firstly read for writing down annotations. Secondly, informed by literature and annotations of data, category codes and sub categories were developed. Thirdly, coloured pens were used to highlight relevant content from different respondents according to the framework of coding. By keeping a copy of original transcripts, the researcher interpreted interviews without losing sight of its context. However, relevant content which belonged to the same codes from different participants was also 'pasted and copied' and put into the same file for thematic analyses.

3.3.3.3 Interviews with young women

Interviewing young people resonated with the academic concern to improve children's visibility and enable their voices to be heard. Also, it is an appropriate method to explore the fourth research question: young women's experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures under the GEEA and how these construct their gender and sexual identities (see Chapter Seven). Young participants in this thesis were aged between sixteen and seventeen. Interviews with young people were carried out after class observation (discussed in next session). On one hand, this avoided interviews affecting young people's behaviours in class. On the other hand, the period of observation enabled the researcher to build relationship with young people for later interviews. For preparing to carry out interviews, young people were given verbal explanations about the interview and the scope to ask questions. Pupils were also given 'willingness to participate form' to sign and return after a week to indicate whether they would like to participate in the research or not. Pupils' parents were also provided an 'opt-out from' if they disagreed with their children's participation. No conflicts arose between

pupils' and their parents' consent. Young people in Azalea High School were interviewed during their self-study hours in schools while pupils in Banyan were interviewed after school hours. Interviews were conducted in one of the school classrooms in both schools, although the size and location of the rooms were very different (see section 3.5). These arrangements were made collectively by discussing it with teachers and pupils.

In terms of how young people were interviewed, the researcher provided two options. Voluntary participants can either choose to be interviewed individually or be interviewed with their friends. This strategy intended to avoid some vulnerable young people (e.g. with alternative gender and sexual identities) feeling uncomfortable to expose themselves or reveal their opinions in front of their friends. Moreover, pupils who participated in group interviews can decide with whom they wanted to be interviewed. Consequently, five individual interviews and eleven group interviews were conducted as table 3.4 demonstrates.

	Group²⁶	Individual	Total interviewees
Azalea	4	3	14 (Female: 13; Male: 1)
Banyan	7	2	24 (Female: 22; Male: 2)
In total: 16 interviews, 38 interviewees (Female: 35, Male: 3)			

Table 3.4 Interviews with young people

The researcher has demonstrated that it is theoretically important to explore young women's experience in Chapter Two. Practically, the researcher also found it was difficult to recruit male pupils. At the initial stage of the project, the researcher intended to recruit both young men and women. However, only five of forty participants were boys. Unfortunately, a group of two boys missed their interview and opted out the research later because of having a row

²⁶ The group interviews include: five groups of two participants, two groups of three participants, three groups of four participants; one group of five participants.

between them, according to other pupils. This left only three boys out of thirty-eight participants. In consideration of the inappropriateness to present three boys' experiences as representative, the research focus was shifted to reflect young women's experiences. The researcher wondered whether the gender difference of young participants was attributed to the fact that researcher is female. However, teachers in Banyan suggested that it might relate to the interview being held after school time: playing basketball appeared to be more appealing than attending interviews for boys. Female pupils also provided different narratives. They suggested that boys were not used to talk about their 'feelings' to someone else, especially to 'a teacher'²⁷. Therefore, the difficulty to recruit male pupils reflected issues of how and when to conduct interviews as well as how the researcher's identity was recognised.

Before beginning the interview, similar warm-up techniques were adopted when working with children: introduce the research, give overview of questions and explain their right as participants. Interview questions explored young women's experiences of teaching practices in relation to gender equity education and their understandings of masculinity, femininity and sexual identities constructed within peer cultures. Therefore, young women were asked questions (see appendix 6) such as: how do teachers of particular subjects address gender/sexual equity issues? Whether pupils are treated differently because of their gender in schools? What do you think of gay and lesbian identities? These questions were important to answer the research question that how young women's understandings of gender and sexual identities were shaped through teaching practices and peer cultures under the GEEA.

In order to empower young people, the researcher also took different strategies before the

²⁷ The researcher was sometimes considered as a teacher because of previous teaching experiences in high schools, although the researcher tried to highlight her status as a researcher whenever possible.

interview. Firstly, the researcher clarified her position as a researcher rather than a teacher (further discussed in 3.4.5). Secondly, the researcher encouraged young people to express their opinions freely as there were not right or wrong answers. Thirdly, the researcher asked young people to come up with their own pseudonym. This strategy worked as a nice way to break the ice, allowed young people's creativity and kept them interested. However, pupils' pseudonyms were too creative and linguistically specific in Chinese to make sense when they were translated into English (also see section 3.4.3). Therefore, pupils' pseudonyms were kept but were eventually given numbered codes in this thesis (see appendix 9).

Individual interviews with young women lasted from one to one and half hours. Young people's competence as social actors was particularly evident in these scenarios, as young people were capable to express their opinion clearly and confidently. After the interview, the researcher always left some time for seeking young people's feedback about the interview. They said that they enjoyed it and were happy to be listened to by an adult but without being told what they said was immature or wrong. Moreover, some pupils told the researcher that they found it nice that they were given an option to be interviewed individually. Otherwise, they would feel the pressure in a peer group to say what they were supposed to say but not what they really thought.

The group interview was expected to have two or three people at most in the same group. However, some pupils told the researcher that it was difficult to separate their friendship group. Therefore, the number of pupils in the same group varied from two to five participants²⁸. The group interviews lasted two to two and half hour with a break when appropriate. Although there was less time allocated for each member in a group, the dynamic

²⁸ In total, there were five groups of two participants, two groups of three participants, three groups of four participants and one group of five participants.

of interaction was revealed through agreements, debates and negotiations between young participants. The issue of the dominant participant within a group interview was not evident and the researcher was conscious to ensure everyone had her say. In contrast to some discussion about the risk of losing control in group interviews, some pupils in certain groups were found to take the role to redirect the discussion back to the research and reminded their friends not to chat about 'irrelevant' things. This special interaction in group interviews enabled the researcher to observe different peer relations as well as to explore what was considered relevant and irrelevant dialogues by young people. Most importantly, the power relation was negotiated not only between participants but also between the researcher and pupils, as in some cases the researcher seemed to be assisted by young women in keeping the interview on track.

Group discussion (or group interviews or the focus group) is viewed as one type of interview and can sometimes be a useful alternative or supplement to individual interviews (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). However, in this thesis, both individual and group interviews shared the same importance and were adopted simultaneously in order to respect young people's preferences. By definition, group discussion means that the participants are brought together to provide their own opinions about a particular topic chosen by the researcher. Therefore, the discussions of focus groups as a type of research method often emphasise the particular dynamic within a group (Bedford and Burgess, 2001; Hopkins, 2007a; Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Kneale, 2001).

In terms of the positive sense of dynamics, it is demonstrated that it is the dialogic characteristic of the focus group which can give the researcher access to multiple and transpersonal ideas about a particular issue. Also, the focus group is especially useful for the

researcher to compare the 'world-views' of different groups of people (Bedford and Burgess, 2001). However, some scholars point out the ambivalent effect of the focus group. Participants might more be willing to express their ideas, as they feel 'safer' within a collective environment, while in other circumstances, participants might be reluctant to voice and opinion in front of other people because of shyness, of fear of embarrassment (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Nevertheless, Kitchin and Tate (2000) remind researchers that the key to generate either informative or quiet focus group sessions depends on the selection of people for the group. It is suggested to recruit individuals that have the same characteristics and from the same background (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). Hopkins (2007a) also demonstrates that when participants know each other, the discussion is often more interactive and others feel easier about disagreeing with particular points or issues raised. In this thesis, young people had the right to choose their own groups and therefore, were interviewed with their friends. This contributed to the success of the group discussion during this project, as the researcher found the processes were dynamic and information gathered was useful in addressing the research questions.

Apart from benefits, some studies point out the problems in using group discussion as a research technique; these include participants' lack of interest in engaging in the conversation, the effect of dominance, and conflict within the group (Bedford and Burgess, 2001; Kneale, 2001). However, in this case, the voluntary nature of the participation in this project meant that young people were engaged in the discussion. The researcher also tried to involve all members of the group. In terms of the issue of dominance, it is argued that the focus group may reflect the dominance of one or more participants or the polarization of debates (Kneale, 2001). However, the researcher had made it clear in the beginning of the group discussion that everyone's opinion needed to be respected and heard. The researcher

also ensured that everyone had her say and the content of the conversation was as diverse as possible during the process. However, this does not mean that every participant shared the same degree of involvement, but they were provided equal opportunity to express their ideas. As for the conflict within the group, Kneale (2001) claims that the tensions within group discussions need to be valued as part of research findings. Therefore, the researcher has included interview quotes in Chapter seven which illustrates agreements as well as disagreements among young participants. The researcher viewed the tensions within group interviews as positive to the research, as they provided more avenues of further discussion and clarification about the issues. In brief, the focus group produced different perspectives to individual interviews, while the former revealed dynamics of young people understanding their own and other's notions of gender and sexual identities, the latter given the researcher the opportunities to share young people's individual life experiences in depth.

Interviews with young people were all audio-recorded and accompanied by note-taking. The process of transcribing interviews proved the difficulty for transcribing group interviews in particular, because people talked at the same time and sometimes the conversation was too fast to grasp because the dynamic interaction between participants. Transcribing an interview with a group of more than three people became extremely difficult as well as time-consuming. The analyses of data also followed same strategies from writing down annotations with transcripts, developing the framework of coding to conduct a thematic analysis (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

3.3.4 Observation

Observation has been considered as a naturalistic technique which enables the researcher to

explore what is happening and why (Angrosino and Mays de Pérez, 2000; Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias have identified 'directness' as the major advantage of observation (cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000, p220). The method provides an understanding of people's actual practices compared with what they claim they do. Therefore, in order to explore how the GEEA was implemented on a daily base in the classroom, observation was the appropriate method to adopt.

The observation was mainly conducted in the classroom to understand teaching-learning interactions and how it affected young people's constructions of gender and sexual identities. It has been argued that the best possible research setting for observation is a 'mid-point' between the insider and outsider status (Kearns, 2005). The point is that if the researcher is too familiar with the community, then he or she might take things for granted. However, if the researcher is totally alien to the context of the field, then a great deal of background information has to be acquired in advance and meaningful themes may be difficult for him or her to identify within the given time (Kearns, 2005). As the researcher is a qualified teacher, the observation in the classroom positioned the researcher in the mid-point as Kearns (2005) suggests. This in-between position enabled the researcher to focus on interactions, which helped to answer research questions.

One teacher in Banyan and two teachers in Azalea gave consent to class observation. The observation was carried out during the initial stage of the research by adopting the informal framework (e.g. note-taking) compared with the formal framework (e.g. checklist) (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The framework of conducting the class observations has three aspects: the environment of the classroom, the politics of the class (i.e. interactions between different actors), and the ways in which gender and sexual issues are addressed. During the

observation in both schools, the researcher was located in the last row of seats sometimes next to pupils. There have been pupils telling the researcher after the class that they did not even notice (or forgot) the researcher's presence. The field notes were typed in, and stored as electronic file in the computer on the same day of observation.

The researcher was aware that the findings of observation were not objective truths but rather 'situated knowledge' (Mansvelt and Berg, 2005). However, debates around the limitation of observation often focus on bias. This suggests that the researcher carries out the observation from a position, which is related to the researcher's preference and identities (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Research reflexivity is suggested to be a means to reduce such bias (Dowling, 2005; Mansvelt and Berg, 2005). Also, the bias from observation was minimised, as it was only a supplementary method for this thesis.

Getting consent to conduct observations in class was a significant ethical issue. Information provided by the researcher varied according to the context, because 'complete informed consent' might affect participants' behaviours (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The researcher discussed with teachers about whether to seek consent from pupils. However, teachers suggested it was better not to ask pupils' consent in this case, as it would become complicated if some pupils did not want to be part of observation: the school was not able to split the class. It has been argued for the researchers to be aware of the structure of compliance when working with young people (Valentine, 1999). Therefore, the researcher sought to minimise unintended coercion by letting young people know that if they felt uncomfortable or had any concern, they could tell the teacher or the researcher. However, the researcher did not receive any negative feedback. As stated above, young people seemed not to be disturbed by the researcher's presence.

It has been demonstrated that the purpose of observation is to provide complementary evidence or foundation for further research (Kearns, 2005). In the research, the observation was utilized to allow the researcher to blend in the field and to build rapport with pupils. Through the process, the researcher also became familiar with young people's cultures and languages. It provided the researcher information and preparation for conducting interviews.

3.4 Ethical issues: working with children

It has been suggested that developments of academic debate and political action shift scholars' focus on ethics of working with children and young people (Matthews et al, 1998; Valentine, 1999). The academic reconceptualisation of children as social actors has challenged the traditional methodological approach to research children as objects. Instead, geographers have been requested to work 'with', not 'on or for' children (Matthews et al, 1998). As for political action, the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child (1989) which provides guidelines to children's right to 'protection, provision and participation' is also considered to have impacts on researchers' increasing efforts to empower children in the research process (Matthews et al, 1998; Valentine, 1999). Therefore, geographers have sought to explore in which manner the research can be conducted without misrepresentation, intrusion, and harm to young participants (Matthews et al, 1998). Debates around access, informed consent, confidentiality, potential harm and empowerment, are discussed in sequence next.

3.4.1 Access

In terms of access, geographers have highlighted the complex negotiation with different

gatekeepers in order to access children. Valentine (1999, p144) has reminded researchers to pay attention to the 'structure of compliance' to gain access to children. It is suggested that the structure of compliance is even more complex within institutions such as schools (compared with in the home). This was found evident in the research. As previously discussed, the recruitment of young people for interviews had to negotiate with different gatekeepers from the head teacher, the class teacher, to the tutor²⁹. In consideration of this hierarchical structure, the researcher emphasised the voluntary nature of participation in the research with teachers and young people through oral and written communication. This was to avoid institutional pressure on children in particular to comply with the research.

However, in retrospect, this top-down recruiting approach seemed to be ethically problematic. Some pupils were excluded during the process, as adults' (teachers) consent was prioritised over young people's. Skelton (2008) reminds researchers to be aware of exclusionary practices when the power of participation has been given to the one (i.e. a gatekeeper) who has a form of social power over the potential research participants. Nevertheless, within the institution, the researcher is positioned within a set of power relations over which the researcher has little control (Ansell, 2001; Barker and Weller, 2003b). Therefore, although the researcher intended to conduct a more ethical research to balance the weight of teachers' and young people's right to consent, it was found impossible to get access to young people without the head teacher's permission in advance.

3.4.2 Informed consent

The limitation of fulfilling 'complete' informed consent for class observation in schools has

²⁹ In Taiwanese senior high schools, each class will be allocated a tutor. This tutor usually stays with the same class for three years until pupils graduate from the school.

been discussed in section 3.3.4. However, young people in both schools were given oral explanation and consent from of opting in the researcher for interviews (Matthews et al, 1998; Valentine, 1999). The consent form was due to be returned in a week. Thus, young people had sufficient time to consider their participation, although they started to discuss with each other immediately while the researcher was explaining the project to them.

Whether young people chose to participate in the research or not, their view was completely respected. However, the researcher requested young people to provide the reason for opting out if they like. Most young people indicated that they could not participate in the research because they were 'busy' attending cramming courses after school (also see section 3.2.4). This illustrates the great 'workload' faced by young people in Taiwan. It also suggests that the researcher needs to consider how to work with young people in terms of the 'rhythm' in their everyday life.

3.4.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is another important issue in developing ethical research. Before interviews, apart from explaining the procedures and giving an overview of questions to be asked, the researcher assured young people that they could express their opinions freely without judgement and without fear of disclosure (Matthews, et al, 1998). Barker and Weller (2003b) demonstrate that ensuring children's confidentiality in schools might conflict with institutional processes of surveillance and control. However, very rarely, teachers asked the researcher how the interview went with young people out of kindness rather than prying.

Some studies have suggested that offering young people the chance to choose their

pseudonym not only keeps confidentiality but also makes them more involved in the process (Barker and Weller, 2003b; Valentine, 1999). However, Valentine (1999) illustrates the dilemma between academic rigour and respect of young people's choices of celebrities' names which have no relation to their identities. Offering young people the chance to choose their pseudonym in the research was considered to be a useful way to increase their participation and worked as an efficient warm-up activity before interviews. Nevertheless, as the researcher did not set any rules for young people in choosing their pseudonym³⁰, the diverse nature of pseudonyms made it difficult to be translated into English as well as being presented appropriately in this thesis. Also, Chinese names are not as significant as English names in identifying people's class, ethnicity and gender. Therefore, as a compromise, young people were given numerical codes in this thesis³¹ (see Appendix 9).

3.4.4 Possible harm

Matthews et al (1998) have suggested that the researcher has to be careful about physical as well as psychological harm (e.g. distress, embarrassment, intrusion) in any research with or on children. The researcher was confident that she would not hurt young people in any physical way. However, teachers were informed about where and when young people were interviewed every time, as the researcher had to borrow the key from them for using the classroom. There were glass doors in the classrooms used for interviews. Therefore, people could see through and children's safety could be assured. To avoid psychological harm, the interview questions were phrased carefully. However, in group interviews, sometimes the researcher sensed young people's embarrassment, because they were challenged by their

³⁰ Therefore, some pseudonyms were their English names, some were their nicknames in Chinese, some were similar to the Internet id (combined with letters and numbers), and the other pseudonyms were the combination of meaningful words for them.

³¹ However, if the research is presented in Chinese in the future, their pseudonyms will be adopted.

friends (sometimes mixed with banter). Very rarely, the researcher had to intervene by emphasising everyone's right to express their ideas. However, the researcher became more cautious when young people disclosed their sexual identity as lesbian or bisexual in interviews³². The researcher was conscious of not putting vulnerable young people at risk of bullying or social exclusion in any possible way (Valentine et al, 2001).

3.4.5 Empowering practices: performing a 'less-adult role'

The discussion of ethical issues of working with young people also highlights the importance of 'practice'. Valentine (1999) argues that a particular method cannot determine whether the research is adultist or not but it is how it is implemented that matters. In terms of efforts made to conduct ethical research with young people, the researcher was conscious to create a comfortable and quiet setting for interviews (Barker and Weller, 2003a; Matthews et al, 1998). The researcher was also conscious to respect what young people said by listening to them carefully and giving responses. However, some young people still felt a little anxious about whether they were saying something irrelevant which might waste the researcher's time. This suggested that young people developed a sophisticated awareness of social interaction with adults and therefore tried hard to self-discipline even with the researcher's attempt to create the empowering relation.

There was a particular practice which made the researcher anxious and wondered whether it was ethical or not in the first place. The researcher bought every young participant a soft drink when they came to interview. This was not planned in advance as a 'thank you'

³² The interview questions were not designed to pry into their privacy but to explore young people's attitudes to different sexual identities. However, a few young women disclosed their lesbian and bisexual identities during the interview. Nevertheless, this did not mean that these young women had been openly of their sexual identities. Instead, they pointed out that only a few of their closest friends know about this.

substitute. The decision was primarily made out of intuitive reaction³³. There have been discussions about the controversy of giving children thank-you payments (Bushin, 2007). However, offering young people soft drinks did not entice them to take part in the research. The researcher considered it merely as an ethical practice. In fact, the researcher was told by young people that they were happy to have drinks as they got thirsty in the interview. Offering them a drink was also taken as a friendly gesture and it smoothed the formal form of interviews. This practice was worth of noting, because the idea of drinking soft drink and offering it while interviewing teachers never came to the researcher. This reveals an unconscious strategy that the researcher tried to negotiate research relations with different participants even in the case of whether to have or to offer drinks.

Holt (2004) has suggested that the adoption of an empowering research method is central to all ethical issues concerning children. In terms of working with young people, it has been suggested that the researcher adopts the 'less-adult' role to facilitate empowering research (Holt, 2004; Valentine, 1999). The 'less-adult' role is defined as not to promote an authoritarian role, not assuming adults' superiority and avoiding taking the role to discipline young people (Holt, 2004; Valentine, 1999). Power imbalance between adult/researcher and children/young participants should be recognised and dealt with and not be exploited (Matthews et al, 1998). This call for establishing empowering research also relates to how the researcher presents his/her identities appropriately in terms of differences in age, bodily size, (dis)ability, gender and social status with participants (Holt, 2004; Kearns, 2005; Matthews et al, 1998).

Kearns (2005) illustrates the impact of researchers' embodiment on research relations, such as

³³ The researcher found it would be inappropriate to have a drink on my own after buying a drink just before the first interview began. Thus, the researcher bought the first participant a drink. In consideration of fairness, buying a drink to every young participant was then made.

appearances and behaviours. The researcher's bodily size was medium-sized among young people. Thus, this difference did not have significant impacts on the research relations constructed with those being interviewed. The researcher usually went to schools for class observation and interviews with young people in casual dress (T-shirt and jeans). Also, this thesis argues that in building empowering relations with young people at this stage, the 'less-adult' role was more reflected on the researcher's attitudes and responses to young people's views rather than disciplining their behaviours. This research also found that fieldwork was a gendered activity (Kearns, 2005). The researcher found that boys were more likely than girls to opt out of the research by suggesting that they were 'shy'. As for the impact brought by the difference in gender between the researcher and young participants, it might be resolved by adopting other methods (e.g. questionnaire). The researcher might also consider different ways to build rapport with possible participants.

3.5 Reflection

Sharp (2005, p306) discusses the issue of the politics of the field by suggesting the field is an ambivalent place for feminist work. Specifically, feminist discussions of the politics of field focus on two themes: positionality between the researcher and the researched, and the context in which the research is conducted. The reason that the researcher has to consider these issues is to situate knowledge, as feminist methodologies suggest that knowledge is situated, as partial, limited and specific (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991). Reflexivity is often considered by feminists as a strategy for situating knowledge. To highlight the importance of the situated and embodied nature of knowledge constructions, McDowell (1992, p413) has urged researchers to 'address our own position as producers of knowledge', which is a way to be reflexive. Madge (1993) has argued the need to consider how a researcher's positionality (in

terms of race, nationality, age, gender, social and economic status, sexuality) may influence the data collected and the knowledge production. In other words, 'position' indicates the kind of power that enabled a certain kind of knowledge (Rose, 1997). The next sections discuss how positionality and context affected the research process and knowledge construction. However, it is explored based on the understanding that it is impossible to be an all-seeing and all-knowing researcher (Rose, 1997). Nevertheless, this understanding should not prevent the researcher from situating knowledge by discussing her positionality and the research context and how they affected data collected and knowledge produced in this thesis.

3.5.1 Positionalities

Positionality indicates axes of difference like race, gender, class, age, sexuality, ableness, education, even being parents or not (Skelton, 2001a). The discussions of the status of being insiders versus outsiders as well as negotiating sameness and difference in the research process are essentially related to the positionings of the researcher and the researched (Mohammand, 2001; Valentine, 2002). The different experiences of working with adult participants and young people in this thesis will be discussed separately next, because age was the most evident factor affecting the researcher's positionality in interacting with these two groups.

The researcher worked with two groups of adult participants: key informants beyond schools and teachers (including school managers and class teachers) within schools. Among eleven key informants, two of them were male and the other nine were female. However, the difference in gender between the researcher and the researched did not affect the research process as much as the difference in social positions. Participants all held higher social

positions (and were older) than the researcher; for example, they were scholars, governmental officers and experienced activists of NGOs involving in promoting the GEEA for a certain period of time. Therefore, during the research process, although the researcher decided which questions to ask, the power relations between two parties were beyond the control of the researcher, because participants were in a more powerful position. This dynamic power relation also increased the difficulties for the researcher to adopt a more challenging approach to collecting data as well as to produce a critical analysis of findings.

However, the positionality and power relations between the researcher and participants changed when interviewing teachers. The gender of the researcher and participants played an important role in affecting the research process and the data collected. While male teachers often adopted a distant and rational approach to highlight their efforts to implement the GEEA or to offer their apologies for not having achieved as much as they could, female teachers were more likely to show their enthusiasm or resentment at the implementation of the GEEA. This may have been because male teachers were trying to be politically correct in front of a female researcher interested in the issue of gender equity while female teachers did not feel the need to do so. Also, because the researcher's status of being a teacher in the past, the researcher found it sometimes difficult to decide whether to be sympathetic or to be critical during the interview as well as in interpreting teachers' narratives in negotiating the sameness (being a teacher) and difference (different attitudes to gender equity education). The positionality of the researcher also affected teachers' decision to not to give consent to class observation or their teaching practices in class. For example, an English teacher said that she would feel under huge pressure to have me sitting in, because my English must be very good as I was studying in a foreign institution. A History teacher who gave consent to observation once told the researcher that she tried harder than usual to integrate the issue of

gender equity into teaching because the researcher was there observing. In brief, as the above discussion shows, it is important to acknowledge the situatedness of knowledge construction in the interviews and observations, both in relation to the researcher's and adult participants' positionality, and in power relations generated between them in the research processes.

The issues of positionality and power relations had fewer impacts on the processes and outcomes of the class observation than interviews when working with young people. The reasons are because young people were not completely informed about what the researcher was observing; in addition, they were used to have people (usually teachers in training) sitting behind in the classroom just watching. However, the issue of positionality between the researcher and young people not only influenced the recruitment of young participants but also the interaction during the interviews, which further affected what kinds of data were collected and interpretation of the findings based on the data. First of all, the differences in gender, age and social positions between the researcher and young people affected the latter's participation in the interview especially for young men. While thirty-five young women agreed to participate in the research, only three male pupils were interviewed. According to the young women, male pupils' lack of interest in the research was because 'boys do not talk about their feelings, not even to their best mates, not to mention talk to a researcher (an adult, and who used to be a teacher)'. Therefore, it is evident that the positionings of their gender (being boys), age (being young people) and social position (being pupils) caused the young men's retreat from the research.

Second, during interviews with young women, the sameness and difference in relation to gender, sexuality, age and social position between the researcher and female pupils also affected the research processes. Because of the sameness in gender, the researcher felt the

interviews had an atmosphere close to sharing personal experiences. Also, young women seemed to presume that the researcher shared most of their understandings of gender identities. During the interview, the researcher performed a neutral/standard heterosexual femininity, but young women had different interpretations of it. This assessment is based on the data collected which included perspectives from extreme homophobic comments to tolerant opinions on non-heterosexual identities. Moreover, although the researcher aimed to create an empowering relation by adopting a less adult and authoritarian role when interviewing young people, the statuses of being an adult and a used-to-be teacher created ambivalence for the researcher and young women. For example, the researcher told the young women that they could call her name instead of calling her 'Miss'. However, it was not common for people to call each other's names rather than titles in Taiwan unless they are at similar ages or are very familiar with each other. Therefore, young people were hesitant and therefore they still called the researcher 'Miss'. It is impossible for the researcher to assess fully the effect of this on the research relations, data collection and interpretations of findings. However, it is worthy pointing out difficulties, uncertainties or limitations such as the above example in the process of knowledge construction.

3.5.2 The contexts

In order to situate the knowledge, feminist methodologies also emphasise the need for researchers to reveal the context in which the research is conducted and how the context affects the process of knowledge production (Haraway, 1991; McDowell, 1992) The following discussion specifically focuses on the time and the space in which class observations and interviews were carried out and explores how different locations and times affected the research processes. With regard to class observations in schools, the time did not

matter, as the observations were carried out both in the morning and afternoon. Instead, how close the observations conducted to the dates when pupils had to take exams mattered. For example, when the observations were conducted within the week before an exam, interactions within the classroom were inactive and teachers were less likely to address issues beyond the textbooks. In terms of the space, most observations were conducted in the normal classroom. However, in Azalea, some observations were done in other spaces because of different teaching practices such as in the computer centre, the media centre, and a room with the wooden floor where pupils sat casually. These alternative learning spaces increased the interactions among pupils but they made observations difficult or even impossible for the researcher, because of the low volume of conversation between pupils closely sitting together, the darkness of the room, and the blocked views from where the researcher was seated.

The different contexts though which interviews were conducted also affected the process of knowledge construction. However, in terms of interviewing adults, as the key informants and teachers had the power to choose when and where they would like to be interviewed, participants' availability and convenience set the research contexts. Key informants were interviewed in coffee shops or their offices but the interview time varied during the weekday. As for teachers, they were interviewed during various times of the day when they were available. The interviews happened in their offices or in the school library according to teachers' preference. As the participants had the power to set the research context, so the researcher felt confident that they would be willing to disclose their opinions during the interview. Therefore, the researcher collected the data and interpreted the findings, which represented teachers' experiences appropriately.

As for the interviews with young people, the researcher was aware that the different research

contexts in terms of the time and the space of the interviews carried out between Azalea and Banyan affected data collection as well as the findings among young people's experiences. In terms of the time, interviews with young women in Azalea were conducted in the first two classes in the afternoon, while the interviews were carried out in Banyan after school. The different times of carrying out interviews meant that in Azalea, the researcher and young women were both aware of the time limit, because they had to go to other classes after the interviews. So the pace of interviews was faster and the conversation was intense. However, in Banyan, the interviews were often more relaxed and flexible than in Azalea. Also, the lengths of interviews were often extended to more than two hours, as young people had some available time before they went home. The locations of interviews with young people were also different between Azalea and Banyan. The researcher was allocated a small room (approximate four square meters) to interview young women in Azalea while was provided a much bigger room (three or four times than the size of the room in Azalea) in Banyan for interviews. The small size of the room in Azalea made the situation a bit tense and intimidating in the first place, because of the physical closeness between the researcher and the researched. Also, because the location of the small room was close to a busy corridor where many people passed, the interviews were sometimes interrupted or young women were anxious about what they said would be heard by people accidentally. However, the interviews with young women in Banyan were relaxed, smooth and rarely interrupted, as the room was large and was located in a quiet corner.

According to the above discussion, interviews can be understood as performances, as some of the positionalities of the researcher and the researched might not be disclosed (consciously or unconsciously) or recognized during the processes. Moreover, some scholars argue that the researchers and participants would perform accordingly in terms of how they recognize and

negotiate the sameness and difference between them. Different contexts in which the research was carried out also proved to affect the processes of data collection and the findings. In this sense, the researcher was aware that if she performed her positionalities differently or carried out research in different contexts, she might collect different data and therefore have distinct findings. This understanding of interviews as performances proves the importance of situating knowledge production.

3.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has demonstrated the Taiwanese context in which the research was carried out. In particular, making sense of educational environments in Taiwan is important to understand the challenge for schools' implementation of the GEEA which is demonstrated in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven. This Chapter has also discussed how the research questions were explored by adopting different research methods and how they were applied during the research. The semi-structured interview was the most important technique utilised in this thesis. Not only adults' but also young people's voices under the GEEA were explored. Moreover, the observation was used to provide a foundation for interviews. Ethical issues of working with children have also been discussed in this Chapter to illustrate how this thesis sought to develop an empowering research approach. The reflections on the issues of positionality and context are also discussed in situating knowledge construction in this thesis. The method of discourse analysis was utilised to explore the aims of the GEEA and how those aims were shaped in the Taiwanese policy context, to which the following Chapter now turns.

Chapter Four: Discourse analysis of the Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA)

4.1 Introduction

Methods of discourse analysis are derived from the methodological implications raised by Foucault's conceptualisations of 'discourse'. According to Waitt (2005), discourse analysis differs from other textual analysis methods, such as content analysis, by emphasising how particular ideas are privileged as 'truth' rather than just focusing on the context or meaning of texts per se. Thus, discourse analysis pays attention to the social contexts in which a particular set of statements are produced and circulated, connecting discourse analysis with social realities/practices. The concept of discourse can further link to the concept of 'power' (Rose, 2001). Thus, the discourse analysis can also be adopted to explore the power effects of discourses, which not only produce different subjects but also construct differences among them. However, these points are overlooked by the aforementioned textual analysis methods.

This Chapter examines a specific piece of legislation, the Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA), by adopting the approach of Foucauldian discourse analysis. The GEEA was passed officially in 2004. It regulates the promotion of gender equity in education and particularly in schools. Firstly, in order to achieve the objective of discourse analysis, this Chapter begins with exploration of the particular time-space context in which the GEEA was produced. Secondly, the legislation is introduced briefly in terms of chapters and issues. Other relevant regulations and guidelines to the GEEA are also illustrated. Thirdly, key themes in the GEEA around the ideas of gender and sexuality and the construction of subjects (e.g. teachers versus students) are explored.

4.2 Social contexts of the Gender Equity Education Act

The first section explores the social circumstances in which the discourse of gender equity education gradually emerged in Taiwan. It is significant to understand why law making became a desirable and appropriate strategy and to explore why the GEEA was ultimately established. Two sexes equity education³⁴ became a national policy in 1997 when the Ministry of Education (MOE) established a committee to promote this issue. He (1998) argued that the emergence of two sexes equity education related to a number of social transformations in Taiwan in terms of economic development (e.g. the need of skilled female labour), political democratisation (e.g. the restructuring of modern State to tackle social inequality), and social reform (e.g. resolving social problems of sexual harassment, assault and violence). As He's (1998) arguments reflected broader contexts of Taiwanese society, this section intends to further her arguments by revealing more specific social contexts related to the emergence of the GEEA. In brief, this section explores how issues of gender and education were brought together and how these processes shaped the aims of the GEEA. These specific Taiwanese policy contexts include the development of women's movements, educational reform, the 'Peng Wan-Ru'³⁵ incident', the establishment of governmental committee, and the drafting, lobbying and passing of the GEEA.

³⁴ The term, 'two sexes equity education', was prevalent before 2002. After the law makers changed the title of the drafting Act from 'Two Sexes Equity Education Act' into 'Gender Equity Education Act' at modifying stage in 2002, the later term gradually started to replace the former usage. In general, the definition of two sexes equity can be understood to exclusively emphasise the equity between men and women while the meaning of gender equity education is expanded to promote equity between diverse gender and sexual subjects. When to use 'two sexes equity education' or 'gender equity education' in this thesis depends on how it is called in that particular social context.

³⁵ All the Chinese names in this thesis are presented in Chinese manner: the family name followed by the given name.

4.2.1 The development of women's movements

The emergence of Taiwanese gender equity education policy and legislation can be traced back to the 1970s. It has a very close tie with the development of women's movements in Taiwan. In 1974, *New Womenism* by Lyu Siou -Lian, was published. It is recognised as the earliest voice in Taiwan to challenge the traditional circumstances of women's status, roles and gender relations which originate from Chinese culture. Her arguments were inspired by the experiences of women's movements in the US as she studied in the US during the 1960s and 1970s. The women's movements in the US were also introduced in and through her book.

In *New Womenism*, Lyu (1990) argued that the male-centred society needed to be changed. She pointed out that everyone should learn how to be an independent individual rather than learn how to be a man or woman in the first place. This argument challenged the conventional idea that women should depend on or be subordinate to men. It was at that time that the issue of gender inequality started to be recognised in Taiwan.

The formation of NGOs (non-governmental organisations) has had crucial influences on the emergence of women's movements in Taiwan. These women's organisations also play key roles in promoting gender equity education through all stages. One of the most influential organisations is the Awakening Foundation (first established as the Awakening Publishers in 1982, then renamed in 1987). Since its establishment, it has organised many events and campaigned about different issues relevant to women's rights, such as eliminating sexual harassment, the modification of the Civil Law³⁶ (1929), and rights for female employees

³⁶ Women's movements in Taiwan have made a lot of efforts to amend unequal articles in the Civil Law (1929), focusing on the rights and responsibilities of the husband and the wife. For example, before 1998, it was stated

(Awakening Foundation, 2008). More importantly, in terms of gender equity education, it was the Awakening Foundation that firstly brought gender and education issues together in the late 1980s.

In 1988, through examining textbooks of primary and secondary schools, the Awakening Foundation found that these textbooks reinforced ideas of gender stereotype, primarily reflecting males' experiences and mainly introducing work from male authors (Su, 2002). It was criticised that many inequitable and discriminatory ideas related to gender were contained in these teaching materials. As for further strategies, the Awakening Foundation announced its findings publicly and requested that the Ministry of Education and National Institute for Compilation and Translation³⁷ improved the contents of textbooks immediately and lifted the ban on public publishers editing textbooks (Su, 2001). It was not until then that public awareness had been directed to the issue of gender inequity in education. The connection between gender and education started to be built at that time. Consequently, the dominance of the State to reproduce unequal gender subjects through education was challenged.

During the 1980s and 1990s, alongside the development of women's organisations³⁸ and

in the Civil Law that the wife shall take the husband's surname. Also, the wife shall comply with the husband's decision of their domicile. However, now the husband and the wife shall keep their own surname and the domicile should be decided under mutual agreement.

³⁷ This is the highest agency in Taiwan for the compilation and translation of academic and cultural works as well as textbooks (National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 2008).

³⁸ These women's groups include: the Awakening Foundation (1982), Home for Rainbow Girls (1986), the New Environment Women's Coalition (changed in 1989 to the Taipei Homemaker's Union and Foundation), Taipei Modern Women's Foundation (1987), the Garden of Hope Foundation (1988), Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (1988), Taipei Warm Life Association for Women (1988), Grass-root Women's Support Association, Solidarity Front of Women Workers (1991), National College Girls' Advocate Coalition (1992), Taipei Association for the Promotion of Women's Rights (1994) (Sie, 2004).

movements, the rise of women's studies in higher education³⁹ should not be ignored. In fact, women's movements and women's studies supported each other. The former arouses academic interest in gender issues while the research findings of the provided the ground for women's movements to push forward. Moreover, the emergence of women's studies also paved the way for further research in other areas, such as gender studies and gay and lesbian studies. As a result, the National Science Council, the major academic resource allocation agency in Taiwan, officially recognised the field of gender studies as an area of academic research in 1998 (Sie, 2004). This growing academic interest⁴⁰ in gender issues contributed to the later promotion of gender equity education.

4.2.2 The educational reform movement

The issue of gender equity in education emerged in the late 1980s, but its significance was strengthened by the educational reform movement in the 1990s in Taiwan. The Education Reform Committee of the Executive Yuan⁴¹ was established under public request in 1994 (see section 3.2.4). It aimed at producing a report based on public opinion for guiding the government's future educational policy (Education Reform Committee, 2008). At first, the issue of two sexes equity was not one of the agendas of Education Reform Committee in 1995. Nevertheless, the Awakening Foundation proposed voluntarily to carry out the research

³⁹ They are Research Centre of Women's Studies in National Taiwan University (1985) and Research Centre of Gender and Society in Tsing Hua University (1989) (Su, 2001).

⁴⁰ The name and foundation year of research centres established in 1990s are: Centre for Research on Gender, Kaohsiung Medical University, in 1992; Research Centre of Gender and Space, Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University, in 1994; The Centre for the Study of Sexualities, National Central University, in 1995; The Research Centre of Women and Gender, National Cheng Kung University, in 1996; The Research Centre of Gender and Communication, Shih Hsin University, in 1997; The Research Centre of Gender and Culture, Tunghai University, in 1999 (Su, 2001).

⁴¹ 'The Executive Yuan is the highest administrative organ of the Republic of China (Taiwan, ROC). The Executive Yuan has a council comprised of the premier, who presides over its meetings, the vice premier, the heads of ministries and commissions, and ministers without portfolio. According to the Constitution, the council evaluates statutory and budgetary bills, and bills concerning martial law, amnesty, declarations of war, conclusion of peace and treaties, and other important affairs, all of which are to be submitted to the Legislature, as well as matters of common concern to various ministries and commissions' (Executive Yuan, 2010).

on two sexes equity education (Su, 2002). As a result, five suggestions were made in the Awakening Foundation's study to promote two sexes equity education: (1) modifying all textbooks; (2) providing pre- or on-job trainings of teachers; (3) establishing the Two Sexes Equity Education Committee in the Ministry of Education; (4) increasing females' participation at executive level; and (5) establishing women's programmes at all universities (Su et al, 1996). Consequently, by the end of 1996, the issue of two sexes equity education was included within the general report published by the Education Reform Committee. This achievement can be seen as a milestone for gender issues in educational agendas. However, it was not this report per se but a following social incident that speeded up the effective practices of two sexes equity education.

4.2.3 The 'Peng Wan-Ru Incident'

The 'Peng Wan-Ru Incident' precipitated the passing of the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997), which is the first legislation where two sexes equity education gained the legitimacy to be implemented in schools. In 1996, 'on November 30, Mrs. Peng Wan-Ru, a long-term activist of women's movement, was found raped and dead with 35 stabs all over her body (Su, 2004, p4)'. The news shocked Taiwanese society and the long-hidden issue of women's safety was raised.

Later on 21st December in the same year in 1996, many women's groups held a night parade⁴² demanding the government to take serious action against violence towards women. Under

⁴² More than 10,000 people attended this protest parade. The parade was held at night for highlighting the threat to women's safety particularly at night (Su, 2004).

tremendous pressure from the public, the Legislative Yuan⁴³ immediately passed the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law at the end of December, 1996. Importantly, the eighth act (revised in 2005 as the Seventh act) of the legislation required that pupils at primary and secondary schools must receive at least four hours courses every year related to themes which would help to avoid future sexual assault incidents. Two sexes equity education was one of the key topics⁴⁴.

The Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997) has brought two influences. In a positive way, it provides the first legal basis for the two sexes equity education and further led to the establishment of the Two Sexes Equity Education Committee (TSEEC) in the Ministry of Education. In a negative way, for many years the public narrowly equated two sexes equity education with sexual assault crime prevention (Sie, 2000; Su, 2002).

4.2.4 The Two Sexes Equity Education Committee and the initiative of law-making

This section focuses on the institutionalisation of gender equity education via the formation of the Two Sexes Equity Education Committee (TSEEC). In order to carry out the eighth act in the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997), and under the consistent pressure from women's groups, the Ministry of Education set up the TSEEC in March, 1997 (Su, 2004). The significance of the establishment of this committee is that two sexes equity education was eventually taken as 'official policy' in Taiwan's education. It became more important

⁴³ 'The Constitution of the Republic of China (Taiwan, ROC) stipulates that the Legislative Yuan shall be the supreme national legislature with its members elected by the people, it shall exercise the legislative power on behalf of the people. In terms of its power and function, the Legislative Yuan is equivalent to a parliament in other democracies' (The Legislative Yuan official website, 2010).

⁴⁴ Other topics listed for teaching are the male and female reproductive system; safer sex and sex knowledge of self protection; mental health aspects of sex; respect of other's sex autonomy; understanding of sexual assault crime; crisis management of sexual assault; strategies of prevention sexual assault and other relevant education to sexual assault (Act 7, Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law, 1997, revised in 2005)

than only being one of the topics needs to be taught at primary and secondary schools on the basis of the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997).

Between 1997 and 2004, there were six terms of the TSEEC. More than half the members were female. They were mainly scholars in women/gender studies, representatives of women's groups or principals of schools. In order to carry out the two sexes equity education, the committee were further divided into five sub-groups⁴⁵. Su (2001) concluded that the TSEEC had raised diverse issues relevant to two sexes equity education, promoting relevant curriculum and programme establishments, and published the *Two Sexes Equity Education Journal*⁴⁶.

The issue for further drawing up specific legislation for promoting two sexes equity education had been raised soon after the establishment of the TSEEC. In 1999, the TSEEC in Ministry of Education passed a resolution to form a research team for drawing up the draft of the Two Sexes Equity Education Act (TSEEA), which was one of the planned projects for the coming year. Some supporting journal articles also came out. Sie (2000) argued that the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997) was inappropriate as the legal basis for two sexes equity education. He pointed out that it encouraged people to equate two sexes equity education only with the sexual assault crime prevention (Sie, 2000). More importantly, without particular legislation for two sexes equity education, it was difficult to ensure that the TSEEC could operate permanently in terms of unstable governmental budget and support (Sie, 2000). Su (2001) demonstrated similar concerns and recognised the lack of a firm legal basis as the most serious problem of the TSEEC's operation and the implementing two sexes

⁴⁵ These five sub-groups are: (1) teacher's training and teaching; (2) curriculum and teaching materials; (3) research, data collection and evaluation; (4) report and crisis solution; (5) social and parenthood education.

⁴⁶ It was firstly issued in 1998. Up to January in 2010, there have been forty-eight volumes published.

equity education.

Thus, the emerging strategy of law making not only aimed to separate issues of sexual assault and two sexes equity education but also highlighted the greater importance of the later. The attempt to have legislation also focused on seeking a firm foundation of obtaining public resources such as governmental budget or personnel support for operating the TSEEC in order to maintain two sexes equity education as a persistent policy.

4.2.5 Drafting, modifying and transforming the GEEA

In January, 2000, the Ministry of Education officially entrusted four women, Chen Huei-Sin, Shen Mei-Jhen, Su Cian-Lin and Sie Siao-Cin⁴⁷ to draft the Two Sexes Equity Education Act (TSEEA). The initial version of the TSEEA was confirmed in January, 2001 following the completion of research project. The content of the TSEEA was decided through eighteen internal meetings and seventeen external meetings with other experts and scholars during the year (Chen, 2001). Three important conclusions were reached by this drafting stage. First, the TSEEA requested the Ministry of Education to organise and expand another research team to further modify the draft of legislation. Second, the original title of the legislation, ‘Two Sexes Equity Education Act’, was suggested to change into ‘Gender Equity Education Act’ (GEEA). Third, public hearings were needed for gathering broad opinion and for schools to understand this legislation (Chen, 2005a).

⁴⁷ Three of them are scholars in law, education or gender studies, and also activists of women’s movements. The other was a lawyer who had worked with Taiwan Women’s Rescue Foundation for rescuing legally underage prostitutes and had been involved with the law-making process of the Children’s Welfare Law in Taiwan.

In March, 2002, The Ministry of Education organised the second research team for modifying the draft of the GEEA (renamed). Apart from the previous four authors, additional nine members⁴⁸ were invited into the research team at this stage. Four public hearings were held in the middle, south, north and east areas of Taiwan. Before the public hearings, the draft of the GEEA had been emailed to every school by the Ministry of Education for internal discussion. As a result, there were around two to three hundred participants for each public hearing including schools' representatives, and local governmental officers of education. After these hearings, twenty-nine groups meetings and ten subgroup meetings were held within the research team. Finally, the draft of GEEA was accomplished in May, 2003 and was submitted to the Legislative Yuan for reading in April, 2004 (Chen, 2005a, b).

Members of the law-making team highlighted the importance of public hearings. They suggested that public hearings were not only for them to collect wider opinion but also opportunities for carrying out 'social education':

K2: We all understand that the process of law making was actually a social movement. So if there were more public hearings, you had more chances to introduce the Act to people...otherwise the Act cannot be put into practice even if it was finally passed (Female; lawmaker and member of the GEEC in central government).

Thus, the meaning of public hearings was not only about hearing or collecting opinion from teachers or local governmental officers in all parts of Taiwan, but more importantly, it was an occasion for lawmakers to introduce the GEEA to the public.

⁴⁸ These nine members include scholars, principals of elementary and senior high schools and a representative of National Union of Taiwan Women Association (Chen, 2005a).

During drafting and modifying processes, the replacement of the term, ‘two sexes equity education’, by ‘gender equity education’, was the most significant transformation. The preference of using the term gender equity rather than two sexes equity, was partial influenced by the gay and lesbian movements in Taiwan (Chen, 2002). One of the lawmakers explained:

K1: Gay and lesbian movements have started since the 1990s, so...even in the TSEEC of Ministry of Education in 1997, some members from NGOs had been aware of the issue. Apart from this, other members such as scholars in gender relevant fields were more progressive and were also concerned the gay and lesbian issue. Thus, when these people formed the committee, the deficiency of the term, ‘two sexes’ had been recognised (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government)

The research found that the use of the term ‘gender’, in Chinese in Taiwan, has a broader meaning than it usually does in English, as it is sometimes expanded to refer to the issue of sexuality as well. Thus, in the context of the GEEA, the term ‘gender’ needs to be understood differently according to the context in which it is situated.

Although the justification of using the term ‘gender’ rather than ‘two sexes’ was informed by gay and lesbian movements in Taiwan, the ‘Ye Yong-Jhih incident’ had a timely and direct impact on changing the title of the Act. It also expanded the notion of gender equity considering different gender performances (see section 4.2.2). Ye Yong-Jhih, a fifteen-year-old boy, was found unconscious in his junior high school’s toilet and died on the following day in hospital in April, 2000. The news drew NGOs’ (women, human right, education, and gay organisations) attention, as it was found that the boy’s death might have related to his feminine characteristics (Lai, 2006). The effects brought by this incident were constant

reports on newspapers and the TSEEC of the Ministry of Education also conducted an official investigation of the incident.

As a member of the TSEEC and one of the investigators of the incident, Bi (2000) points out that because of the boy's feminine performances, other pupils had often bullied him. Thus, he usually went to the toilet a few minutes before the class ended or after the class just started. This incident happened when he left the classroom five minutes earlier before the break time (Bi, 2000). Thus, there was no witness for this incident. Thus, the reason for actually causing his death still remained questioned. However, the discrimination of his feminine performances at school was recognised by the members of TSEEC as an indirect but underlying factor for his death. A interviewee explained how the use of 'two sexes' was replaced by 'gender' because of the 'Ye Yong-Jhin incident':

K1: At first, it (gender) relates more to the concept of gay men and lesbians. Later, it relates to 'Ye Yong-Jhih incident' which connects the idea of gender temperament⁴⁹. Thus, people have a vivid example that the term, two sexes, cannot include the diverse concepts of gender. This incident helps more people to understand the appropriateness of using the term, gender, rather than two sexes (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government).

This quote illustrates that the use of the term 'gender' in the social context of Taiwan not only includes the concepts relevant to gender on the basis of biological sex, but also is expanded by the ideas of the gender temperament and sexual orientation. Specifically, the term, 'two sexes equity education' is understood to challenge inequality between men and women. However, the term, 'gender equity education', highlights the importance of challenging inequality produced not only due to biological sex, but also gender temperament, sexual

⁴⁹ The translation of gender temperament in Chinese means masculinity and femininity in English.

orientation and gender identity (Article 2, The Enforcement Rules for the GEEA, 2005).

4.2.6 Campaigning and lobbying the GEEA: NGOs' key role

The key role of women's groups to promote the issues of gender equity education has been revealed in previous section. However, the establishment of the Taiwan Gender Equity Education Association (TGEEA) in 2002 illustrated that the issue of gender equity education has gained significance. This is not to say that the role of women's groups has weakened, because some of the initial organisers of the association actually came from the Awakening Foundation. The crucial role of NGOs has been particularly influential at the lobbying stage.

When the draft of the GEEA was submitted to the Legislative Yuan in April 2004, Taiwan was experiencing a severe dispute as to the result of presidential election⁵⁰. In order to prevent the possible delay of passing the draft of the GEEA due to the political situation, several NGOs⁵¹ then organised a union to urge and contact members of Education and Culture Committee of the Legislative Yuan (Chen, 2005b).

NGOs carried out a number of strategies: (1) providing detailed documents of the GEEA for all legislators; (2) holding a public press conference promoting the issue one month before the reading (3) keeping close contact with chair legislator to ensure the arrangements for meeting (4) asking to sit in two review meetings, and the third reading of the law in

⁵⁰On March 20, the presidential election was held. Because a gunshot incident happened to the candidates of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) who later won the election, there was a strong argument over the result. The legislators were so involved in the situation that they did not have much time and energy left for any regular review meeting (Su, 2004, p6).

⁵¹Taiwan Gender Equity Education Association, the Awakening Foundation, Taiwanese Female Scholars' Association, National Union of Taiwan Women Association, Taiwan Association for the Promotion of Women's Rights, and Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline (Su, 2004).

Legislative Yuan (Su, 2004). Due to these strategies adopted by the NGOs, the process for the legislation to be reviewed and read only took two months. On June 23, 2004, the GEEA became officially effective.

The GEEA currently has thirty-eight articles which fall into seven chapters. Details about the framework and contents of the Act are explored carefully in the next section. However, being the first legislation for promoting gender equity education at schools in Taiwan, the GEEA has also been reinforced by later regulations and guidelines. Their emergence is based on particular articles of the GEEA. These regulations and guidelines are also introduced, as they are important to thoroughly understand the discourse of gender equity education around the GEEA in Taiwan.

4.2.7 Summary

This section has focused on Taiwanese policy context of establishing the GEEA. Women's movements in Taiwan had had great impacts through all stages in terms of promoting gender equity education and contributing to the passing of the GEEA in 2004, with the 'Peng Wan-Ru incident' further enabling feminists to mount pressure on the State and to urge the government to legally require the implementation of gender equity education in schools. The passing of the GEEA in 2004 was attributed to complex progress of drafting, modifying, campaigning and lobbying for the Act. In brief, the establishment of the GEEA was produced in a particular context of Taiwan where the role of education to achieve gender equity was emphasised and the strategy of seeking legal intervention was chosen by feminists to achieve social change.

4.3 Introduction of the Gender Equity Education Act

The social context in which the GEEA was produced was described in the last section. It is also important to note that the framework and contents of the GEEA were changed and adjusted at different phases. This section focuses on introducing the overview of the GEEA and other subsequent regulations and guidelines complementary to the GEEA.

4.3.1 Chapters and issues

During distinct stages of law making, five versions of the GEEA can be found (see Figure 4.1). In light of these versions, their arrangement of chapters is rather similar in terms of quantity and order. Nevertheless, some changes have been made to certain articles through the process. This thesis does not intend to discuss these differences article by article. Instead, these transformations of articles will be discussed in the context of broader themes in section

4.4.



Figure 4.1 Key stages and drafts of the GEEA

In the GEEA (2004), there are seven chapters consisting of thirty-eight articles. Briefly, the first three chapters are intended to regulate how governments and schools can promote gender equity education in terms of establishing the Gender Equity Education Committee, ensuring equal treatment in educational environments, and emphasising teaching practices. Chapter four draws on the prevention of sexual harassment and sexual assault. Chapter five regulates the procedures when schools violate the legislation or when sexual harassment or assault incidents happen. Chapters six and seven address issues of penalty, the necessity of enforcement rules, and the date of promulgation.

The title, number of articles and issues being raised in each chapter of the GEEA are listed in the table 4.1 below. As it shows, in terms of the number of articles, chapters one, four, and five form longer parts while the chapters two, three, six and seven form shorter parts of the GEEA. In terms of issues, chapters two and three are the major sections where the ideas of gender equity education are situated.

Chapter one: general provisions (eleven articles)	
Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Objective 2. Definition of key terms 3. Tasks of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC) at different levels* 4. Organization of the GEEC at different levels* 5. Annual budget 6. Supervision of progress
Chapter two: learning environment and resources (five articles)	
Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender-fair and safe environment 2. Respecting gender temperaments and sexual orientation 3. Equal opportunities for any gender and sexual orientation 4. Student pregnancy 5. Staff members' training 6. Gender ratio of some committees in schools or governments**
Chapter three: curriculum, teaching materials and instruction (three articles)	
Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Equal opportunities for any gender in terms of curriculum and activities 2. Curriculum design for promoting gender equity education 3. The compilation, composition, review and selection of teaching

	materials
	4. Guideline for teachers
Chapter four: prevention and handling of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus (eight articles)	
Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Requesting regulations to prevent and handle sexual assault or sexual harassment on campus 2. Responsibility to inform the other school to which the offender transfers 3. Avoidance of repetitive interrogation and confidentiality 4. Assistance to victims of sexual assault or harassment 5. Penalty for offenders committing sexual assault or harassment 6. Guidelines for announcing the investigation result 7. Establishing a database of recorded cases and notification
Chapter five: application for investigation and relief (eight articles)	
Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When and how to request an investigation 2. Acceptance of application 3. Formation of investigation team 4. Investigation procedures, regulations and principles 5. Completion of investigation 6. Appeal and reinvestigation 7. Regulations for petitioning relief 8. Validity of investigation report
Chapter six: penal provision (one article)	
Issues	Fine for violating certain articles of the act
Chapter seven: supplementary provisions (two articles)	
Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Requesting to draw up the Enforcement Rules for the Act 2. Promulgation date for the Act to take effect

* Central government, local governments, and schools

**Staff Appraisal Committee, Grievance Review Committee and Faculty Evaluation Committee

Table 4.1 Chapters and issues of the GEEA

4.3.2 Subsequent regulations and guidelines

Although the GEEA was passed and has been effective since 2004, it is not self-contained. Three other documents were made afterwards according to the fourteenth, twentieth and thirty-seventh articles of the GEEA. They are the School Guidelines for Sex Education and Care of Pregnant Students (passed in July, 2005), the Regulations for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (passed in March, 2005), and the Enforcement Rules for the GEEA (passed in June, 2005). These three later documents act as

expanding interpretations of the GEEA.

The School Guidelines for Sex Education and Care of Pregnant Students (2005) relates to the issue of student pregnancy. There are fourteen guidelines in total. These guidelines concern topics like schools' responsibility to deal with the issue, sex education, non-discrimination against pregnant students, and possible assistances to them such as flexible measures of attendance record, examination and assessment.

The Regulations for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005), requested according to Article 20 in the chapter four of the GEEA 'shall contain campus safety plans, matters needing attention regarding instruction and interpersonal interaction on and off campus, and handling mechanisms, procedures, and relief for a case of sexual assault or sexual harassment on campus (Article 20, GEEA, 2004).' Thus, these issues form major parts of the Regulations for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005).

The Enforcement Rules for the GEEA (passed in June, 2005) provide further elaboration of particular articles of the GEEA, including eighteen articles in total. The emergence of the Enforcement Rules for the GEEA reflects that lawmakers were aware of vague statements and unclear terms presented in the GEEA and therefore sought to refine the GEEA by producing these later enforcement rules.

4.3.3 Summary

Bearing understandings of the GEEA and its accompanying documents in mind, the key themes within it are drawn out for discussion in the following section. Analyses are mainly based on the effective GEEA. The supporting statements accompanying the GEEA (illustrations for reasons to draw up the articles) during the reading process in the Legislative Yuan are also crucial to be referred to in this thesis. Moreover, previous versions of the Act and their explanations of articles are explored when it is helpful for understanding the key themes more fully. Apart from this, three later regulations and guidelines linked to the GEEA are also examined for exploring how particular ideas of the Act are pushed forward subsequently. In short, the following analyses intend to reveal how particular notions of gender and sexuality are articulated in the GEEA and how these ideas are linked together in a particular way. Also, the conceptualisation of teachers and students is another theme that this thesis focuses on.

4.4 Discourse analysis of Gender Equity Education Act: key themes

The GEEA not only emphasises the significance of gender equity but also highlights the important role of educational spaces in improving gender equity. The concept of equity and its relations to identities is discussed first. Subsequently, it is crucial to understand the discourse of gender equity in the GEEA by revealing what topics are included in the Act and how they are associated with particular notions of gender and sexuality. As the GEEA highlights the role of educational spaces, it is also important to explore how it constitutes subject positions between teachers and students. This thesis intends to explore how the idealized relationship between teachers and students might relate to the conceptualisation of

adults and children. Therefore, apart from addressing the concept of equity in relation to identities, this section focuses on the GEEA and its subsequent regulations and guidelines by examining the following key themes: gender equity, gender temperament, sexual orientation, gender identity (focusing on student pregnancy), sexual assault and harassment and the construction of teachers and students.

4.4.1 Equity/equality and identity

As a key concept in the Gender Equity Education Act, the meanings of equity refer to the termination of discrimination and the provision of equal opportunities in the GEEA. However, the concept of equity needs to be discussed further, as it is far more complex and contested term than the GEEA suggests. In particular, as one of the objectives of the GEEA is to promote diverse gender and sexual identities, the potentially problematic relation of the concept of equity to identities needs to be acknowledged.

In the GEEA, the terms of equity and equality are used interchangeably. However, it is pointed out that these two terms mean different things. Equity is understood in relation to fairness, especially in law, while equality relates to the definition of the same in size, amount, number, value and so forth (Hsueh, 2001). However, these differences between conceptualizations of equity and equality are not rigid. In fact, the concept of equality is more often discussed than equity in academic accounts, and it is not restricted within the above definition but also relates to requests for fairness. In terms of exploring the ways of thinking about 'equality', a number of scholars have suggested that there are different forms of equality – legal equality, political equality, social equality, economic equality, moral equality, resource equality, and equality of power (Blomley, 2009; Cooper, 2000; White, 2007).

However, debates on the conceptions of equality become even more important when the concept of equality is used by different camps to improve lives of subordinated or marginalised groups in terms of social differences, for example, feminists' campaign for gender equality (Hurst, 2001). White (2007) points out that the model of the demand for equality has shifted from traditionally requiring all citizens to have the same rights and duties to a model of group-differentiated citizenship, in which a citizen's rights and duties vary according to the group to which the person belongs. However, in the example of seeking gender equality, feminists have highlighted the problems they encounter when adopting equality both as an analytical concept and a political demand. Specifically, on the one hand, the requirement of procedural equality (e.g. equal opportunities) assumes that women are 'not' fundamentally different from men. On the other hand, in demanding for material equality (equal outcomes), it is argued that differences between men and women need to be recognised in order to achieve the aim (Meehan and Sevehuijsen, 1991). Therefore, Parvikko (1991) has termed the notion of equality is a 'double-edged sword' from feminists' point of view. Based on different feminists' approaches, Verloo and Lombardo (2007, p23) summarize that gender equality can be conceptualised as a problem of achieving equality as sameness (i.e. equal opportunities), of affirming difference from the male norm (i.e. positive actions), or of transforming all established norms and standards of what is /should be female and male (i.e. gender mainstreaming). The crucial issue here is not only about how the concept of equality is understood and articulated differently by feminists, but also the potential risk of relating the concept of equality to identities.

The adopting of the concept of equality in relation to identities becomes problematic when we start to think about the question: who is equality's subject? Cooper (2000, p257) raises several questions in challenging the ideal of applying the concept of equality to issues related

to identities, for example ‘The feminist contention that the subject cannot be abstracted from their social identities, what does this mean for equality?’ ‘Does equality have to relate to all people’s identities or can it – should it – differentiate between them?’ Dillabough (2006) also points out that it is problematic to conflate particular notions of gender identity with corresponding accounts of equality and access, as the singular and stable understandings of identities have been challenged by the work of post-structuralists, such as Foucault and Butler. As a result, the emergence of identity politics has led to some fragmentation of feminist and equality activity (Leathwood, 2006). In brief, adopting the concept of equality to address issues of identities is problematic, because it is based on the assumption of ‘completed’ subjects with ‘fixed’ identities, while the contemporary theorisations of identities have suggested the multiple, fluid and unstable nature of their constructions (Hall, 1996; Dubow, 2009; Valentine, 2001b).

According to the above discussion, adopting the concept of equality in addressing issues related to identities can have positive and negative implications. A positive implication is that if the concept of equality is used strategically, then it might help to eliminate the discrimination against non-dominant (or non-normative) identities or people who perform these identities. This is what the GEEA in Taiwan sets out to achieve. A negative implication is that because of assumptions of fixed subjects and identities within the concept of equality, it might essentialise and normalise identities categories and neglect the diversity and the intersectionality within and among different identities. Moreover, practices of equality are limited, as they can only apply to groups that have been named or recognised. While the dualistic understanding of identities is still prevailing (e.g. male versus female, heterosexuality versus gay and lesbian identities), the practices of equality are less likely to

be applied to less visible identities (e.g. trans and bisexuality). The next section relates to how the idea of gender equity is addressed in the GEEA.

4.4.2 Gender equity

The objective of the GEEA is ‘to eliminate gender discrimination and promote substantive gender equality through education (Article 2, GEEA, 2004)’. The termination of gender discrimination is the central notion to achieve gender equity in the GEEA. The idea of non-discrimination in the GEEA was inspired by the Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 in the US, which is one of the earliest gender equity laws in the world (Sie, 2001). In this sense, it is significant to note that the emergence of the GEEA was not merely related to the trends in Taiwanese society discussed in previous sections. It also linked to wider contexts. The influence from particular countries’ experiences on the GEEA was evident, as the lawmakers had examined certain laws applied in the US (in particular), the UK, and Australia⁵² before drafting the GEEA. Therefore, the emergence of the GEEA suggested that Taiwan was integrated in the wider process to challenge social inequality based on gender beyond the national border.

In the GEEA (2004), Articles 13, 14 and 17 are particularly stated to tackle the issue of gender discrimination.

The school shall not discriminate against prospective students and their admission acceptance on the basis of their gender or sexual orientation (Article 13).

⁵²The laws examined by lawmakers of the GEEA were ‘Education Amendment Act of Title IX (1972)’, ‘Women’s Educational Equity Act (1974)’, and ‘Vocational Education Amendment Act (1976)’ in US; Sex Discrimination Act (1975) in the UK; and Sex Discrimination Act (1984) in Australia.

The school shall not discriminate against students on the basis of their gender or sexual orientation in its teaching, activities, assessments, award and punishment, welfare and services (Article 14).

The school shall design curriculum and activities to encourage students to develop their potential and shall not discriminate against students on the basis of their gender (Article 17).

As these articles have shown, providing equal opportunities to all students regardless of their gender and sexual orientation is the main strategy to eliminate gender and sexual discrimination for achieving gender and sexual equity in the GEEA.

The requirement of the GEEA for ensuring equal opportunities of enrollment, teaching, activities, assessment, award and punishment, welfare, services and curriculum design reflected particular concerns about existing gender inequity in Taiwanese educational spaces. For example, the department of Nursing (or nursing school) only enrolls female students and the department Mechanical Engineering only accepts male students both contrary to the objectives of the GEEA (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). These relate to the socially constructed notions of what are appropriate roles for men and women in society (Gregson et al, 1997). The claim of equal opportunities of the GEEA seeks to challenge the above social practices, which reproduce gender differences on the basis of biological sex and the assumption of fixed gender roles. In other words, the GEEA adopts a social constructionist perspective and questions essentialist understandings of gender (Kehily, 2002; Rose et al, 1997; Valentine, 2001b).

It seems that gender equity means non-discrimination and equal opportunities for all students in schools according to the GEEA. However, exceptions are also demonstrated in Article 13:

This does not apply to schools, classes and curricula with historical tradition, special education missions, or other non-gender related reasons, upon the approval of the competent authority (Article 13, GEEA, 2004).

During the reading process, a legislative member had questioned the possibility of ‘historical tradition’ being an excuse for schools to only accept students of a specific gender (Legislative Yuan, 2004a). However, this regulation has remained as it is stated to ‘achieve the ideal of the gender equity education but also consider the fact of existing single-sex schools in Taiwan (The Legislative, 2004b, p120)’. This indicates that although co-education is the main intention of the GEEA, the Act was also produced in a way to avoid a huge impact on existing single-sex schools⁵³. Thus, the Act is flexible and pragmatic in one way. However, in another way, it creates double standards and opens the possibility of different interpretations of its articles. Thus, the enforcement of the GEEA seems to be negotiable.

The other statements of exception of equal opportunities in Article 14 are related to the concept of positive discrimination,

The school shall affirmatively provide assistance to students who are disadvantaged due to their gender or sexual orientation in order to improve their situation (Article 14, GEEA, 2004).

In the Legislative Yuan Meeting Record (2004b), positive discrimination⁵⁴ to disadvantaged students was stated as another strategy for achieving gender equity. For example, ‘when the issue of safety is more important to women, they should be offered the school

⁵³ In Taiwan, most public and single-sex schools are often the schools with the best reputation in the city or county. This phenomenon relates to the fact that these single-sex schools were established when Taiwan was colonised by Japan during 1894-1945 as the first school in the region.

⁵⁴ The strategy of positive discrimination is not only found in the articles relevant to students but also can be found in the regulation of gender ratio of the GEEC in governments and schools. ‘At least half of the committee members shall be women (Articles 7, 8 and 9, GEEA, 2004)’. As it is shown, the idea of gender equity is not only relevant to treatments of students but also is relevant to the issue of female staffs’ participation in the GEEC.

accommodation preferentially (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b, p123)'. The statement of exception in Article 14 actually expands the idea of gender equity education. Basically it means non-discrimination and equal opportunities, but positive discrimination is also regarded as appropriate when it is necessary.

By examining several significant educational policy documents⁵⁵ in Taiwan, Pan et al (2006) argues that the concept of gender equity has changed gradually from equal opportunities to positive discrimination. However, although there are statements of positive discrimination in the GEEA, equal opportunities is still the dominant concept underpinning gender equity in the GEEA. The concept of positive discrimination is less significant, as the strategies for applying it are missing in the GEEA. The GEEA does not provide further elaboration on applying positive discrimination other than suggesting it as another way to improve gender equity.

The discussion above relates to how the concept of gender equity is understood in the GEEA. However, the meaning of gender equity needs to be explored further. According to the definition of gender equity in later ERGEEA (2005), 'no one shall be discriminated against due to his or her sex, sexual orientation, gender temperament, or gender identity (Rule 2, ERGEEA, 2005)'. As it has shown, the concept of gender equity in the GEEA has been expanded to include different ideas and is broader than general understandings of it in English or Western societies. Thus, it is important to explore how these ideas were brought into the GEEA and how they collectively constitute the discourse of the GEEA in the Taiwanese context.

⁵⁵They are General Report of Educational Reform in Third Stage (1996), The National Nine Years Integrated Curriculum Outline for Elementary and Junior high schools (1998), Women Educational Policy (2002) and the GEEA (2004) (Pan et al, 2006).

4.4.3 Gender temperament

The Chinese term ‘gender temperament’ in Taiwan relates to the understanding of appropriate masculinity and femininity. This term has been stated in the GEEA (2004) (and all earlier versions of the GEEA) before it was defined in the later ERGEEA (2005).

‘The school shall respect the gender temperament and sexual orientation of students, faculty and staff (Article 12, GEEA, 2004)’.

The explanation of the above article illustrates that the labels of ‘Nan Ren Po’⁵⁶ or ‘Niang Niang Ciang’⁵⁷ should not be used by any members of schools to describe those whose performances differ from the concepts of normative femininity and masculinity (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). Also, it is considered to be inappropriate to tease people’s body parts (genitals in particular) or behaviours (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). Verbal abuse has been argued to be a significant way utilised by male pupils to construct normative masculinity (Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Renold, 2005). Thus, the idea of gender temperament is included in the GEEA for protecting students from bullying or being discriminated on the basis of their non-normative gender performances. However, the way in which these articles were written in the GEEA appeared to be vague. The Act does not explicitly explain what ‘respect the gender temperament’ means or what strategies the school should adopt to enable diverse gender subjects.

The idea of gender temperament in the GEEA has a very close relationship with the ‘Ye Yong-Jhih incident’ (see section 4.2.5). This incident is regarded as a tragic example for

⁵⁶Literally translation is ‘boyish girl or manlike woman’. It is usually used to call someone in a negative or discriminatory way.

⁵⁷Literally translation is ‘girly boy or ‘womanlike man’. It is usually used to call someone in a negative or discriminatory way.

revealing great hostility to feminine boys in schools. The consequences were highlighted by ‘affecting their rights to education and even putting their lives in danger (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b, p116)’. Basically, the discursive construction of gender temperament in the GEEA is established by emphasising the way in which discrimination can have fatal results. Thus, the wide spreading story of ‘Ye Yong-Jhih’ has a huge impact on including the concept of gender temperament as part of the discourse of the GEEA.

After the ‘Ye Yong-Jhih incident’ occurred in 2000, the TSEEC (renamed as GEEC later) in the central government were urged by NGOs to have a full investigation about this incident (Su, 2006). After the investigation, it was concluded that his performances of non-normative masculinity had made him being afraid of other pupils’ bullying. That was why he usually went to the toilet just before or after the break time (Bi, 2006). Ye Yong-Jhih was considered as a feminine boy by his teachers and classmates. He was described as: ‘having a high pitch voice, performing gestures of orchid-fingers⁵⁸, being interested in knitting and cooking and often being with female classmates (Bi, 2006, p31)’. Because of his feminine characteristics, he had experienced ‘Othering practices’⁵⁹ from other pupils in schools (Renold, 2005). Bi (2006) argues that Ye Yong-Jhih was deprived of human rights, gender respect and biological need (being afraid to go to the toilet during the break time). It is argued that the school should be responsible for this incident by not taking actions to stop these bullying behaviours (Bi, 2006). Also, teachers’ adoption of a non-preventative role has sustained gendered bullying (Renold, 2005).

⁵⁸The gesture comes from female characters in the traditional Chinese theatre. It is usually regarded as the typical body motion to present the femininity.

⁵⁹ These Othering practices are having trousers removed for ‘checking whether he is a boy or girl’, being asked to do the homework for another pupil, and been threatened to be beaten on the way to and back from the school (Bi, 2006).

The well-known story of Ye Yong-Jhih also relates to constant engagements of NGOs. The Awakening Foundation, The Humanistic Education Foundation and Taiwan Gender Equity Education Association played important roles assisting Ye's family in a lawsuit⁶⁰ (2000-2006), raising funds for shooting a documentary of this incident (2001), revealing this incident through lecturing at different schools all over Taiwan from 2000 onwards, writing articles in the newspapers, holding a press conference (2005) and an academic conference (2006) (Lai, 2006). A book called 'Embracing Rosy Boy' telling the story of Ye Yong-Jhih was also published in 2006.

Apart from this, the Two Sexes Education Journal of Ministry of Education also published a special issue on gender temperament and campus culture in 2000 (Two Sexes Education Journal, No 12). In the same year, the TSEEC also proposed a project of 'Anti-Gender Violence-New Campus Movement' for reflecting on the 'Ye Yong-Jhih incident' and included this issue in programs of teachers' training (Lai, 2006). It was under the huge social impacts of the 'Ye Yong-Jhih incident' that the issue of gender temperament was included into the GEEA. By including the idea of gender temperament, the GEEA expands the idea of gender on the basis of biological sex towards the reflection of diverse masculinities and femininities.

A special connection of the ideas of gender temperament and sexual orientation can be found from the GEEA. The research found that understandings of these two ideas were blurred when people were talking about the 'Ye Yong-Jhih incident'. In three articles by Chen (one of the law-makers of the GEEA), she suggests that the 'Ye Yong-Jhih incident' makes people

⁶⁰Three staff of the school were subject to a public prosecution in terms of negligence for not keeping proper management of school toilet by Ye's family in June, 2000, as the boy's death was later judged because of tumbling on the slippery floor in the toilet. The sentence of five, four and three months of imprisonment for three staff was finally confirmed after ten court sessions during 2004 to 2006 (Lai, 2006).

realise the importance of respecting different ‘sexual orientations’ (2005a, p127; 2005b, p24). This could be misapplied, but it could also present conflation for people comprehending the ideas of gender temperament and sexual orientation in Taiwan. Jackson et al (2008) argue the importance of understanding how the concepts of gender and sexuality are understood differently between Western and Eastern contexts. People whose performances differ from the normative masculinity and femininity are often suspected to be gay or lesbian (Jhu, 2000). This perception suggests a close connection between normative notions of masculinity and femininity and heterosexual identity (Evans, 2006; Hyams, 2000; Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Valentine, 2000).

Indeed, the ‘Ye Yong-Jhih incident’ not only encouraged the GEEA to include gender temperament as an element of gender equity, but was utilised by gay organizations to push the meaning of gender equity further to include the idea of non-discrimination against people’s sexualities, as gay people also experience similar bullying in schools. Therefore, the incident of Ye Yong-Jhih was widely distributed by gay organisations when they were invited to have lectures with teachers or students in schools to promote respect for or protection to gay and lesbian students (Wei, 2006). The next section turns to explore how the idea of sexual orientation was brought into the GEEA.

4.4.4 Sexual orientation

Apart from gender, the GEEA also relates to the issue of sexuality, as the term ‘sexual orientation’ is incorporated in three articles in the Act. Article 12 requests schools to respect the sexual orientation of staff, faculty and students. Also, articles 13 and 14 promote non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation for students’ treatment. However, the

illustration of the issue of sexual orientation was highly limited in the explanations of each article of the GEEA. This difference implies that the idea of gender is more privileged than the idea of sexuality within the discourse of the GEEA. However, the ERGEEA later defines sexual orientation as one of the relevant ideas of gender equity (Rule 2, ERGEEA, 2005). Gay and lesbian education is also cited as one of the crucial issues related to gender equity education (Rule 13, ERGEEA, 2005). This shows a constant attempt to tie the ideas of gender and sexuality together for promoting gender equity education in Taiwan, although they do not share the same significance in the Act⁶¹.

The regulation of gender ratios of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC) is another example which illustrates how gender and sexuality are considered differently in the Act. The GEEA requires that half the members of the GEEC should be female. Women's lack of access to formal power structures has been argued to help to explain gender inequalities at different scales (Laurie et al, 1997). Thus, this regulation suggests that the GEEA seeks to encourage women to participate in public affairs and to share the power of decision-making. Nevertheless, the GEEA does not stipulate how many representatives of sexual minorities (gay and lesbian, bisexual, or trans-sexual people) should be included in the Committee. An interviewee pointed out that the idea of having gay and lesbian representatives in the GEEC had been raised during the process; however, the proposition was turned down because of the difficulty in applying it:

K1: If the society still holds strong discriminations against gay and lesbian people, who dares to say that he/she is a gay or lesbian representative ...when they do not come out

⁶¹For example, Article 17 of the GEEA only states that school's curriculum and activities should not discriminate against students on the basis of their 'gender'. In Article 18, it is regulated that the teaching materials should reflect different gender's historical contribution and living experience. Relatively, the historical contribution and living experience of different sexual orientation are not mentioned. Similarly, in Article 19, when teachers are suggested to deconstruct gender stereotypes and avoid gender prejudice and discrimination in their teaching, the stereotype, prejudice and discrimination relevant to sexuality are neglected again.

to the society, you cannot possibly count the ratio (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government).

It suggests that the 'coming-out' issue was considered by the lawmaker as the main barrier for requesting a certain ratio of gay and lesbian representatives in the GEEC. It has been argued that the decision of coming-out is particularly difficult for gay men and lesbians in Chinese culture, because to claim a gay or lesbian identity is to prioritise individual desires over the collective, the family (Jackson et al, 2008). This regulation of the number of female members in the GEEC suggests that the establishment of the GEEA was a result of lawmakers negotiating with social values in the particular context in which women's right to share the power of public participation had been accepted. However, the fact that only the issue of having gay and lesbian representatives was raised when drafting the GEEA, suggests a binary understanding of sexuality, which has been deconstructed by many studies (Brown et al, 2007; Hemmings, 1995, 1997, 2002; Hubbard, 2000, 2007, 2008; Nast, 2002; Haritaworn, 2007).

The inclusion of the idea of sexuality in the GEEA primarily relates to gay and lesbian movements in Taiwan. There has not been any significant discussion about other sexual minorities (bisexual and trans) in relevant educational discourses. Taiwanese gay and lesbian equal right movements did not emerge until the 1990s (Wang, 1998). However, since 1990, gay and lesbian movements have made the issue of sexuality apparent to the public. According to Wang (1998), gay and lesbian movements basically have had two influences: the visibility of gay and lesbian (whether the issue of sexuality or coming out individuals) and the development of gay and lesbian organisations and activities⁶² in the past decade.

⁶² The 'Between Us' (a lesbian group) established in March, 1990, was the earliest gay group in Taiwan. Since then, more gay and lesbian organisations as social societies or clubs in universities have established gradually. In 2000, the Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association was first formally registered as a national organisation. In 2000, the Taipei government held the first gay festival (Chen, 2002). Also, the LGBT Pride has been held annually

Being influenced by the trend of gay and lesbian movements, the *Two Sexes Equity Education Journal* published by the Ministry of Education had a special issue on gay and lesbian education in 2003 (a year before the GEEA was passed). In this issue, some of justifications for promoting gay and lesbian rights as citizens and their rights in schools were revealed. Responding to the thought that gay and lesbian people are ‘sick or abnormal’, Bi (2003), points out that heterosexual people and gays and lesbians are all human beings, but are just attracted to people of different sexes. Lai (2003) illustrates that gay and lesbian rights are overlooked by all government policy and legislation as the citizens are usually assumed as heterosexual. He also demonstrates unequal treatments of gay and lesbian students and teachers in schools. For example, gay and lesbian students are excluded and experience verbal and physical abuse while gay teachers are questioned about their eligibility for teaching as they are not regarded as appropriate role models because of their sexual orientation (Lai, 2003). Jhuo (2003) also argues that the issue of gay and lesbian students is not a ‘problem’ but an ‘issue’ for teachers to provide necessary assistance to these students. These articles challenge the hegemony of heterosexuality.

The close relationship between gay and lesbian organisations and women’s organisations is crucial for the issue of sexuality being brought into the GEEA. In 1992, the Between Us⁶³ had a stall in the ‘I Love Women Carnival’ held by the Awakening Foundation for introducing this lesbian organisation in public (Ke, 2007). In March, 1996, the Gay Space Action League participated in the ‘Women 100’⁶⁴ pride held by women’s organisations (Ke, 2007). In December, 1996, gay and lesbian organisations participated in the night parade after the ‘Peng Wan-Ru incident’ urging the passing of the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (Ke,

since 2003.

⁶³ ‘Between Us’ was the first lesbian organisation in Taiwan. It was established in 1990.

⁶⁴ This activity aimed to campaign the amendment of Descent Chapter in Civil Law. Some articles were revised. For example, to cancel the article that states the guardianship of children belongs to the husband automatically after the divorce (Awakening Foundation, 2008)

2007). In 1998, gay groups joined 'Anti-Stigma Pride' held by female worker and prostitute organisations (Ke, 2007). This shows that gay and lesbian groups had a constant relationship with mainstream women's organisations (the Awakening Foundation in particular) before the issue of the gender equity education emerged.

In 1999 after the issue of gender equity had emerged, the Gay Citizenship League also held a discussion panel inviting scholars, NGOs, and teachers discussing how to promote gay and lesbian education in schools (Ke, 2007). As a result, the statements of non-discrimination and equal opportunities to students with different sexual orientations (but largely based on the conceptualisation of gay and lesbian students) were included in the first draft of the GEEA in 2001. During the law-making process, there was hardly any dispute about including the idea of respecting different sexual orientations in the GEEA whether in the panel discussion with scholars and experts or in public hearings with school representatives. One of the lawmakers of the GEEA mentioned the atmosphere of political correctness.

K3: Some people in the GEEC or among scholars may hold a religious⁶⁵ belief. Some religions have negative opinions about gay men and lesbians. However, this issue will not be discussed publicly. People will think it is a made decision, and it also seems to be very politically correct. Thus, people may be afraid of disclosing himself or herself for presenting different opinions (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government).

Moreover, no debates in the public hearings were particularly out of lawmakers' expectations:

K1: I think many people did not completely understand what these article stands for....I think many teachers did not realise at that time that the GEEA actually challenges many

⁶⁵ The religions which are referred to here are Protestantism and Christianity. The doctrine of traditional religions in Taiwan such as Taoism and Buddhism do not have specific discriminations against gay men and lesbians.

people's traditional concepts of gender and sexuality (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government)'.

According to these contexts, the inclusion of the idea of sexuality was not fully established on the consensus built through gay and lesbian movements, but resulted from the prevailing atmosphere of political correctness and people's incomprehension at that time. Some disputes arose in 2008, as all forty-eight Catholic schools and universities in Taiwan made an agreement jointly not to carry out the GEEA in 2008. These Catholic institutions claimed that the GEEA violated the doctrine of their religion by encouraging homosexuality, abortion and pre-marital sex (Merit Times, 2008). This suggests a dynamic process that the implementation of the GEEA has to negotiate with the resistances coming from educational institutions.

4.4.5 Gender identity: student pregnancy

The term 'gender identity' does not appear in the GEEA (2004) but is used later in the ERGEEA (2005) as one of the elements to be considered for achieving substantive gender equity. However, the meaning of gender identity is not specified or further discussed in the ERGEEA. The general understanding of gender identity in a Western context might be related to the competed masculinities and femininities. However, the ideas of contested masculine and feminine identities have been related to the concept of gender temperament in the GEEA. Thus, as gender identity is not defined or further elaborated in terms of its difference to gender temperament, it seems that it is used in a general sense in the GEEA. However, there is a part of the GEEA relating to the notion of appropriate sexual behaviors specifically for female students, which draws on the issue of student pregnancy. Therefore,

this section aims to explore the notion of gender identity by focusing on how the issue of student pregnancy is articulated in the GEEA.

The issue of student pregnancy did not appear in the Draft of the TSEEA (2001) but was included in the Act at a later modifying stage. In the GEEA, the issue of student pregnancy is stated in Article 14:

The school shall affirmatively protect pregnant students' right to education, as well as provide assistance where necessary (Article 14, GEEA, 2004).

There had not been any specific disputes occurring within the research team which encouraged inclusion of the issue of student pregnancy in the GEEA. One of lawmakers of the GEEA points out:

K3: At one point, we discussed that actually there are quite a lot of pregnant students. So the article of student pregnancy was included into the Act at that time...there were no debates about the inclusion of the issue of student pregnancy among members of modifying team (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government).

However, during the four public hearings held around Taiwan for the GEEA, student pregnancy was the issue which raised the greatest dispute. A lawmaker illustrates people's concerns and their attitudes at that time:

K1: Questions raised by participants in the public hearings were like 'who will be responsible for their (pregnant students) safety on campus? Will they have negative impacts of other students? (Female; lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government).

This lawmaker of the GEEA also demonstrates her opinions about the presumed possible contradiction raised between protection of pregnant students and prevailing disagreement about pre-marital sex:

K1: Protecting pregnant students does not equate to encouraging sexual behaviours. Also, sexual behaviours do not equate pregnancy. Moreover, being pregnant is not the only identity of a person (Female; Lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in central government).

Although the language used in the GEEA refers to pregnant ‘students’, it was evident that whether the article of the GEEA and public discussion around the issue of student pregnancy was focusing on ‘female students’. As most of the participants in public hearings were teachers from elementary, junior and senior high schools, so when they were talking about students they were meaning ‘young people’. Thus, when teachers were worried about the negative impacts of pregnant students, it implies that young women who are pregnant are regarded as out of place in school space. Also, they should not be seen by other students for being improper role models. However, regardless of concerns from the public, the lawmakers insisted their definition of the issue remained. This illustrates that how significant the issue of student pregnancy (focusing on assistance provided to pregnant female students) was considered in the agenda of the GEEA.

The issue of student pregnancy did not become a public issue until the emergence of the GEEA⁶⁶. In the Legislative Yuan Meeting Record (2004b), the supporting statements for

⁶⁶ When the GEEA was discussed in the Education and Cultural Committee of the Legislative Yuan in 2004, a female legislative member questioned the Educational minister about the issue of student pregnancy. However, the Ministry of Education did not have official information about the number of existing pregnant students or their situation. The general situation was known informally that most of them were suspended their schooling or had an abortion before they continued their studying (The Legislative Yuan, 2004a). This suggests that the State

drawing the article relevant to protect pregnant students' rights in the GEEA firstly criticise schools' reactions to pregnant students in the past. It was pointed out that:

Unmarried pregnant students are often given moral condemnation, punishment or are expelled from their schooling by schools. Also, the assistance from schools to married pregnant students is limited (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b, p123).

It is worth noting that unmarried pregnant students and married students were discussed separately. This implies different attitudes to people being pregnant before or after marriage. More negative opinions apply to being pregnant but not being married. The supporting statements of the GEEA also stated that the issue of student pregnancy was relevant to the lack of sex education. Moreover, the vulnerability of pregnant students in terms of emotional or physical health was highlighted (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). All these statements served to urge schools' engagement for providing relevant assistance.

In the later ERGEEA (2005), Rule 11 further states the assistance schools should provide⁶⁷ such as education suitable for pregnant students' needs, flexible measures for helping them to complete education, and counselling services (Rule 11, ERGEEA, 2005). However, the research found that the drafting report of the ERGEEA (2004) emphasised pregnant students' right to education but it also questioned the appropriateness of unmarried, young, pregnant students' behaviours:

Most of unmarried pregnant students are not **adults**. The appropriateness of their behaviours might be debatable, but their rights to education should be protected (The Drafting Report of the ERGEEA, 2004, p19).

had not been aware of the issue of student pregnancy.

⁶⁷The assistance includes education suitable for pregnant students' needs, flexible measures for helping them to complete education, and counselling services (Rule 11, ERGEEA, 2005).

Thus, it is shown that the ERGEEA does not hold a positive viewpoint about young people being pregnant but merely aims to protect their rights to education. In sum, the regulation of assistance for pregnant female students according to the GEEA is based on the idea of education rights but does not challenge the notion of appropriate sexual behaviours for young people (i.e. the rights to reproduction are subordinate to rights to education). In other words, the discourse of the GEEA on student pregnancy highlights the protection of pregnant female students, but its viewpoints on relevant issues such as sexual behaviours among young people or pre-marital sex were concealed.

The School Guidelines for Sex Education and Care of Pregnant Students was passed in 2005, for carrying out the GEEA and providing practical strategies to tackle the issue of pregnant students. Different actions are applied in terms of pregnant students' marriage status and age in the guidelines as well. For example, if the pregnant student is not an 'adult'⁶⁸, the school has the responsibility to set up a group immediately to deal with the case. However, if the pregnant student is an 'adult' or is married, schools' assistance will be provided on request. In this sense, female students being pregnant underage or unmarried were considered vulnerable. Therefore, the school's intervention is regarded necessary.

Another important strategy suggested in the Schools Guidelines for Sex Education and Care of Pregnant Students (2005) is for schools to provide courses or activities to help avoid 'unexpected pregnancy'. Students should be taught issues such as respecting people's autonomy of body as an appropriate attitude within a relationship, and to recognise the equal

⁶⁸In Civil Law (1929), the definition of adult is one who is aged twenty. In the Criminal Law (1935), the definition of an adult is aged eighteen. In terms of Children and Youth Welfare Law (2003), children are under twelve and youth are aged between twelve and eighteen. This is saying that actually there is no agreed definition of adult or young people in Taiwan. However, the age of eighteen is most likely to be referred to as the starting point of adulthood.

responsibility for contraception of both men and women. To be more specific, this aims to change the unequal power relation between man and woman for carrying out sex activity. In particular, it suggests that men and women should share the responsibility for contraception. It is believed that men's failure to put a condom on is one of the factors (not only lack of information or knowledge of safer sex) which result in unexpected pregnancy.

Apart from disputes in public hearings when the GEEA was drawn up, relevant debates on student pregnancy remain. It was discussed in last section that Catholic schools and universities refused to implement the GEEA, student pregnancy was also one of the issues that they disapproved of. It was considered that ensuring pregnant students' right to education would encourage pre-marital sex and abortion, which are all against Catholic doctrine (Merit Time, 2008). Moreover, in June, 2008, the Ministry of Education passed a regulation that senior high school students can apply for maternity leave for fulfilling the objective of the GEEA. However, different concerns of principals of senior high schools about the regulation were revealed in newspapers. On one hand, they agreed that measures for protecting pregnant students' right to education were important. On the other hand, they expected that students did not equate this regulation to sex liberation. One of the principals pointed out that it was better to have the regulation ready just in case, but it was not suitable for senior high students to have a child in terms of their physical and mental status in his opinion (Ciao et al, 2008). Again, the public debate concerning the provision of assistance to female students was accompanied by the concern of increasing sexual activities among young people. These aforementioned disputes represent the raising conflicts due to the implementation of the GEEA. The research found that although the act has been passed, there are still different opinions in Taiwanese society, with the GEEA remaining negotiated and contested.

4.4.6 Sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus

Apart from ideas relevant to gender and sexuality such as gender temperament, gender identity and sexual orientation, the issue of sexual assault and sexual harassment is another key component in the GEEA. Chapters four and five of the GEEA particularly relate to the prevention of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus and guidelines for investigating incidents. These relevant articles form a significant part of the GEEA (see section 4.3.1).

The issue of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus was emerging during 1992 to 1993, as there was a series of incidents happening especially at universities⁶⁹ (Sie and Chen, 2006). The students of women's studies clubs at National Tsing Hua and National Taiwan universities held an 'Anti-Sexual Harassment Movement' together at that time (Sie and Chen, 2006). However, in the following years, more incidents were revealed to the public. Thus, issues of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus gradually drew people's attention in Taiwan. In the end of 1996, the 'Peng, Wan-Ru incident' further resulted in the passing of the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (see section 4.2.3).

Following the context of Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997) and regulation of sexual harassment in the Gender Equity in Employment Act (2002), the GEEA also includes the issue of sexual assault and sexual harassment as its special focus. This is one of the features of the GEEA, as sexual assault and sexual harassment may not necessarily be connected to the idea of gender equity education in other social contexts. It appears that there is strong tendency in the Taiwanese context to prevent the incidence of sexual assault and

⁶⁹There were incidents in National Tsing Hua and National Taiwan universities in 1992 and another incident in National Chung Cheng University in 1993 (Sie and Chen, 2006).

sexual harassment through education. Also, the GEEA was produced to be the specific law for tackling the incident of sexual assault and sexual harassment occurring on campus.

The meaning of sexual assault is not stated in the GEEA but is referred to the definition provided in the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law⁷⁰ (1997) for consistency (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). Sexual harassment is defined as ‘unwelcome remarks or conducts carrying explicitly or implicitly a sexual or gender discriminating connotation’ or ‘a conduct of sexual or gendered nature’ which affects people’s learning or work (Article 2, GEEA, 2004). Examples are illustrated as ‘touching hair or shoulders, asking for sex, bad language with gender or sexual meanings, dirty jokes, making fun of other’s body shapes, display of pornographic pictures, or exhibitionism’ (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b, p103). The GEEA presents a standpoint that the victim’s perspective is the key to define whether there is sexual harassment. Among the discussion around sexual assault and sexual harassment, how to define ‘sexual harassment’ is an important issue, as it is a rather recent concept being brought into the legislative domain in Taiwan. The Gender Equity in Employment Act (2002) is the first legislation to include the issue while the Gender Equity Education Act (2004) is the second legislation to follow the same track (Luo, 2005). In relative terms, the definition of sexual assault is less controversial, as it has been regarded as an offence in Criminal Law since 1935.

Some studies have pointed out that many students have experienced sexual harassment or sexual assault on Taiwanese campus (Jiao, 2007; Luo, 2005, Wang and Li, 1999). The ratio of female victims is always higher than male victims (Siao, 2007). According to the newest

⁷⁰This regulation indicates that the meaning of sexual assault further relates to articles in Criminal Law (1935). In relevant articles in Criminal Law, sexual assault is defined as using means of rape, coerce, threat, hypnosis or other methods against people’s willing for having sex with them (Articles 221-227, 228, 229, 332, 334, 348, Criminal Law, 1935).

statistics from the Ministry of Education for 2006, 358 sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus incidents were reported from universities, colleges and schools. Among these incidents, nearly 91 percent of victims were female, and nearly 97 percent offenders were male (Ministry of Education, 2008). These findings underline that the general circumstance of sexual assault and sexual harassment incidents on campus is females harassed by males. Thus, the standpoint of the GEEA is to adopt victims' subjective feelings as defining their sexual harassment, something that is essential to highlight women's experiences and challenges the unequal power relations which sexual harassment incidents represent.

The definition of 'sexual assault or sexual harassment on campus' means 'involving the school principal, faculty, staff or student as one party and another student as the other party (Article 2, GEEA, 2004)'. Thus, the involvement of students is the main focus when the GEEA deals with the issues of sexual assault or sexual harassment⁷¹. According to Wang and Li (1999), sexual assault and harassment on campus can be divided into four types: teachers to students, students to teachers, among students, and among staff. However, the GEEA only applies to the first three types in terms of student's engagement. Wang and Li (1999) point out that when teachers harass students, the offence is more serious than other types. When students harass teachers, it is often assumed that female teachers are harassed by male students. This is argued that gender power of being males surpasses the social power of being teachers (Wang and Li, 1999). As for harassment between peers, Wang and Li (1999) point out that it usually happens when students are not fully aware of the boundary between fun and sexual harassment.

⁷¹The vice-minister of the Ministry of Education has pointed out that 'the central viewpoint of the sexual assault on campus is students being victims (The Education and Cultural Committee Meeting Record, Ministry of Education, 2004).'

Due to the different forms of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus, the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus was later established in 2005 on the request of Article 20 in the GEEA. This regulation could be seen as an extension of the GEEA to further tackle the issues. Within its contents⁷², Chapter three provides guidelines for teachers and students in the matter of interpersonal interaction. In Rule 7 of the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005), it is stated that teacher should not develop an interpersonal relationship with a student which violates their professional ethics. This means that romance⁷³ between teachers and students is considered as inappropriate and it is teachers' responsibility to avoid it. Based on Rule 7, the issue of sexual assault and sexual harassment are further linked to the issue of teacher-student romance.

Tang and Chen (2003) point out that the teacher-student romance is problematic because of conflicting roles (being a teacher/student and a lover at the same time) and unequal power relationships on the basis of their social status. They further illustrate that the teacher-student romance may actually be a 'sexual harassment of exchange' (Tang and Chen, 2003). It has been argued that students' consent may be built upon their worries of consequences if they turn down teachers (Siao, 2007). These discussions share the same point of view with the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005) viewing the student as the vulnerable party in any instance of a student-teacher relationship

⁷² It contains topics of campus safety plans, matters needing attention regarding instruction and interpersonal interaction on and off campus, and handling mechanisms, procedures, and relief for a case of sexual assault or sexual harassment on campus (The Regulation for Preventing Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment on Campus, 2005).

⁷³ The usage of 'romance' or 'intimate relationship' in this thesis primarily indicates that two people date each other and have an exclusive relationship as couple. The two terms, romance and intimate relationship are used in a way that does not necessarily imply the development of sexual relationships.

When the rule relevant to the romance between teachers and students was firstly revealed during the period of public hearings in 2004, some counter opinions were raised in the media. Debates are around three main issues: the freedom of expressing personal affection, age (of consent), and social control. When the issue of the freedom of expressing personal affection was raised, Luo (a member of the GEEA) replied that although teachers' and students' right to express their personal affection should be respected, it is illegal to develop a sexual relationship with young people who are under sixteen according to Criminal Law (Huang, 2004). Ling (2004) also points out that it may be necessary to have the regulation of teacher-student romance for schools in terms of protection for young people, but he argues that the regulation for teachers and students at universities should be limited as both of them are adults. Their freedom to express personal affection should be also protected. Thus, he suggests that the regulation should only apply to when teachers and students have official interaction within teaching or supervisions. For these opinions, they do not really oppose the regulation, but considered the rule should be refined carefully according to circumstances.

However, Ka (2004) argues that the teacher-student romance should not be banned. He argues that this regulation mixes the issue of mutual consent with coercion by one party within an intimate relationship. He also argues that this regulation presumes the vulnerability of students and therefore violates their sexual autonomy. Ka's (2004) comments did not provoke subsequent discussion at that time and this notion of sex liberation was not a prevailing voice in Taiwan. Ka's concerns were very different from other's opinion, as he did not engage with the mainstream debate on whether students' age making any difference to consider the regulation. Thus, this type of opinion was regarded to be too radical and idealised due to the lack of consideration of social reality.

By examining the current GEEA and the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus, it seems that the counter opinions hardly had any impact on it. For example, no different regulations of teacher-student romance for schools at different levels have been proposed within the debates. It appears that the public supported the regulation of teacher-student romance while the student is a non-adult. However, there is still room left for debates about teachers developing romance with adult students. In chapter three of the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005), there are also rules relevant to regulating students' behaviors of over-pursuit and sexual coercion, which are less controversial than the rules relevant to teachers' responsibility for avoiding teacher-student romance which is discussed above.

In summary, this section explores why the issues of sexual assault and sexual harassment are brought into the GEEA and how they become a part of the agenda of gender equity education in Taiwan. The issues are included in the GEEA because their significance has been gradually raised by social incidents and they have also become important topics of other previous gender relevant laws. Also, the GEEA favours victims' subject perceptions to define the sexual harassment which mainly empower women to challenge the unequal gender power in the sexual assault and sexual harassment incidents. This echoes the central aspect of gender equity of the Act. Moreover, the prohibition of teacher-student romance is also addressed by requesting teachers to take the responsibility for not using their position and power to establish a relationship with students. Teacher-student romance may represent another form of sexual harassment based on unequal power relations which can affect students' rights. As the GEEA applies to schools at all levels, how it conceptualises different subjects within schools is another important issue. In particular, two characters are repeatedly emerging and are constructed mutually in the GEEA and later regulations: namely, teachers

and students. The construction of these two main subjects relates to their different roles in schools and also relates to their difference in age.

4.4.7 The construction of teachers and students

The social connection between teachers and students is the most significant relationship that the GEEA is based on for considering how to promote gender equity education in schools. The GEEA is not an age-specific law, because the term ‘student’, is used in a non-age specific way in the GEEA. It suggests that the GEEA’s attempt to neutral the law by not implying any specific age groups but emphasising the status of being students. Apart from students at universities, pupils in elementary, junior and senior high schools are legally defined as young people because they are under eighteen. In this sense, although the GEEA is not specific for young people, the majority of young people are subject to its regulation.

The definition of teachers is imprecise in the GEEA but defined in the later Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005). Rule 9 states ‘teachers’ means full time, part time, substitutive, substitute, and nursing teachers; drill masters; or other staff who carry out teaching, researching or undergo supervised practical training’. Basically, people who are involved with teaching or researching activities at schools, colleges, and universities are all included. In Taiwan, people can become qualified teachers, if he/she finishes the training course at university. Therefore, in terms of teachers’ age, it would be more than twenty-two years old when they have had their bachelor’s degree.

The majority of articles in the GEEA are stated in terms of ‘schools’ responsibilities’ to promote gender equity education. Although most of them seem to be tasks of school

managers and class teachers, the responsibilities of different actors (school managers, class teachers, or staff) are not explicitly explained in the GEEA. Nevertheless, Articles 15 and 19 relate to teachers particularly. This is the only example where the construction and the relationship between different subjects (teachers and students) can be explored in the GEEA.

Basically, Article 15 is relevant to the teachers' training. It requests that gender equity education should be included in professional, pre-service, induction, in-service training for staff members and educational administrators. It is illustrated that the discussion of gender equity education was neglected in teachers' training in the past. Thus, teachers are limited by their gender blindness and may reinforce gender prejudice and discrimination when they are teaching. In this case, teachers are argued as needing gender equity education for them to further assist students in daily practices (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). Thus, teachers also need to be trained and re-educated about gender equity education according to the GEEA. In doing so, they can 'evoke gender awareness; develop reflexive ability; improve sensibility and observation of gender presumption in schools; assist students; recognize their own social position; understand, respect and care about different experiences and values' (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b, p125).

Exploring Article 15, it appears that teachers and students are all recognized as victims due to the lack of gender equity education in the past. However, the role of teachers is more complicated as they may also be one of the sources that reproduce gender discrimination and have impacts on students. Thus, the idea of the GEEA is to make teachers become gender aware first and then expect them to be the pioneers and problems solvers for students. However, while teachers are expected to be capable, responsible and active for exploring their own gender consciousness and carrying out gender equity education, the students are

presumed to be vulnerable, incapable and passive and need teachers' inspiration and assistance. This construction of teachers and students reflects how the difference between adults and young people is conceptualised.

This dependent relationship between educators and the educated can be found more clearly in Article 19 in the GEEA. This article illustrates how the GEEA constructs teachers as having leading roles and how it expects them to be. 'When using teaching materials and engaging in educational activities, teachers shall maintain gender equity consciousness⁷⁴, eliminate gender stereotypes, and avoid gender prejudice and discrimination (Article 19, GEEA, 2004)'. While there is no statement relevant to students' roles in class in the GEEA, teachers' role is highlighted in this article. In this sense, teachers are also given the control to decide what type of gender equity education is more appropriate for students to learn. Relatively, students are conceptualised without gender awareness and as being passive receivers. The emphasis of teachers' roles is to reinforce that teachers are the centre of knowledge production. The power relation between teachers and students is reproduced as fixed and hierarchical.

He (1998) argues that the promotion of gender equity education should accompany the liberation or loosening of the power relationship between teachers and students. She further suggests that students should not be viewed as pieces of blank paper. On the contrary, young people's experiences should be considered and included as resources and materials for teachers to respect and try to understand. In this respect, the GEEA fails to recognise the significance of students' experiences and agency and how those might affect the

⁷⁴ 'The term "gender equity consciousness"...shall refer to a person's identification with the value of gender equity, understanding of the phenomena and causes of gender inequity, and willingness to help improve the situation' (Rule, 8, ERGEEA, 2005).

implementation of gender equity education in educational spaces. Nevertheless, the responsibility, or power, is clearly assigned to the teachers according to the GEEA.

As for how teachers can put the idea of gender equity education into practice, some strategies are illustrated. Examples are not to assign works on the basis of gender stereotypes, to raise discussion of myths of gender, to avoid gender segregation or discrimination, and most importantly, to provide role models in terms of teaching by their own example (The Legislative Yuan, 2004b). Thus, teachers are not only presumed and expected to be familiar with the issue of gender equity but also need to properly present themselves for being students' role models.

In short, teachers are conceptualised as rational, capable and responsible in the Act. They are given the full power to improve gender equity in schools. However, there are two problems with this conceptualisation. Firstly, differences between teachers are not considered, such as gender, personal experiences, and age. They may have different receptivity of the idea of gender equity education and that may affect their practices. Secondly, the subjectivity and agency of students are neglected in the Act. There is no article to mention how students' experiences may also be helpful to the promotion of gender equity education in schools. The relationship between teachers and students constructed in the GEEA is assumed stable: while teachers are presumed to be active, guiding and giving, students are presumed to be passive, following, and receiving.

As an extension of the GEEA, the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005) also constructs the teacher in a particular way, emphasising the concept of adulthood. It has been discussed in the previous section that there

are instructions provided for teachers to avoid having relationships with students (see section 4.4.6). In this sense, the conceptualisation of teachers is similar to that contained in the articles in the GEEA. Teachers are constructed and expected not to be attracted to students and be able to control their expressions of personal affection. In other words, teachers are required by the regulations to act as ‘mature and rational’ adults who can disclose their personal affection and make the necessary adjustments (Huang, 2004).

However, this standard of teaching conduct actually varies relatively in terms of students’ age. The requirement is more enforceable if the romance is between a teacher and a student who is under sixteen. According to Ling (2004), this should not even be considered as teacher-student romance, but a criminal matter, as it violates the Criminal Law for adults to develop the sexual relationship with young people under sixteen (age of consent). However, this argument is based on the presumption that teachers and students have developed the sexual relationship.

The grey area of the regulation of intimate relationship between teachers and students applied to universities, as both parties are adults. This is also the stage that people have different opinions about the regulation. However, according to the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005), its ban of teacher-student romance suggests that whatever the student’s age is, the romance between the teacher and the student is always inappropriate. As students are presumed to be vulnerable, therefore teacher-student romance is considered as an abuse of power and it might constitute sexual assault or sexual harassment.

In short, the GEEA (2004) and the Regulation for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on Campus (2005) share some similarities. They all assume that teachers are mature, capable, responsible and rational. As for students, although their roles are not specifically indicated, they are relatively constructed as immature, incapable, irresponsible and irrational people. Basically, teachers are the promoters of gender equity education, and students are the receivers. Teachers are given more responsibilities but also have more power. The subjectivity and agency of students are largely neglected.

4.4.8 Summary

This section has explored a number of key themes of the GEEA which constitute the meaning of gender equity education in Taiwan. The central notion of the GEEA is to promote equal treatments for men and women, people with normative or non-normative gender identities, and people with any sexual identities. The concept of positive discrimination can also be found in the GEEA. However, the GEEA does not provide further explanation of how it could be practically achieved through educational spaces. The GEEA also relates to the issue of student pregnancy by focusing on schools' responsibility for protecting and assisting pregnant female students. The prevention of sexual assault and sexual harassment incidents on campus is another key theme in the GEEA. However, it is important to note that the idea of sexual assault and sexual harassment is further related to the issue of teacher-student romance in Taiwan. According to the Regulations for Preventing and Handling Sexual Assault or Sexual Harassment on campus (2005), the teacher-student romance is considered inappropriate, as it might represent a particular form of sexual assault or sexual harassment because of the unequal power relation between the teacher and the student. The GEEA also constructs a particular relationship between teachers and students. Specifically, teachers' role

in implementing gender equity education is emphasised while students' experiences and how their agency might affect the teaching practices are neglected by the GEEA.

4.5 Conclusion

This Chapter has explored the social context, content and key themes of the GEEA. In terms of the social context, the emergence of the GEEA was closely related to women's movements in Taiwan. The educational reform in the 1990s also provided a stage for feminists to turn the issue of gender equity education into national policy. The impact of the 'Peng Wan-Ru incident' brought the issue of gender equity education into another level, as it was specifically required to be implemented in schools by the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law (1997). Because of feminists' constant efforts, a series of progresses were made along the time: establishing a gender equity education committee in the central government, drafting and modifying the GEEA. Finally, the GEEA was passed in 2004 because of the significant role of NGOs during the process.

In terms of the content of the GEEA, it has been shown that its articles tend to provide statements of principles rather than to illustrate clear explanations or instructions about how they can be implemented practically. However, the sections relevant to the establishment of the GEEC and sexual assault and sexual harassment are more enforceable. Also, the GEEA appears to be 'encouraging' rather than 'requiring' schools to implement the gender equity education, as its penalty is only applied to a few articles. This suggests that the enforcement of the GEEA might be diminished.

In addition, the discussion has explored the key themes in the GEEA relating to gender

equity, gender temperament, sexual orientation, student pregnancy, sexual assault, harassment and the construction of teachers and students. The discussion has revealed how these key themes were included into the GEEA and how they relate to particular notions of gender, sexuality and social role. After the examination of the GEEA per se, the next chapter is going to explore how the GEEA is implemented in schools as the extension of discourse analysis, revealing the social practices and effects of the discourse. The next section focuses on school policies and cultures.

Chapter Five: Institutional policies and cultures

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in previous Chapters, the Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA) was passed in 2004 in Taiwan. Since then, all public and private educational spaces, including schools, colleges, and universities are subject to the regulations of the GEEA. These educational institutions are required by the Act to provide a ‘gender-fair’ learning environment, to integrate the idea of gender equity into teaching, and to prevent incidents of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus (GEEA, 2004). Apart from this, the GEEA also requires that these educational institutions must establish their own Gender Equity Education Committees as a specific mechanism to implement policies for gender equity education. High schools, of course, are positioned in the same legislation as other educational settings, which are sites expected to achieve the political agenda of the State.

In order to accomplish the requirements of the GEEA, cooperation from different administrative offices of high schools is necessary. In the Guidelines for High Schools Organisation in Taipei City (2005), it is stated that the Academic Affairs Office, the Pupil Affairs Office, the General Affairs Office, the Counseling Office and the Library are mandatory offices⁷⁵ in high schools. Although the requirements of the GEEA relate to cooperation between these offices, schools usually identify the Counseling Office as the main

⁷⁵ The Academic Affairs Office is responsible for the teaching schedule, supervising teaching practices and enrolment. The Pupil Affairs Office is in charge of democracy and law education, moral education, pupils’ behaviours, and collective activities. The General Affairs Office takes responsibility for delivering and receiving post, maintenance and finance. The Counselling Office is responsible for providing counselling services to students, keep pupils’ records, and assisting pupils’ career planning (Guidelines for High Schools Organisation in Taipei City, 2005).

body for assisting affairs of gender equity education (White Paper on Gender Equity Education, 2010). The Counseling Offices in both Azalea and Banyan High Schools are also the main sectors for implementing gender equity education policies. In this case, understanding the Counseling Offices' practices for promoting the issue is particularly important. The relationship between the Counseling Office and other administrative offices as well as teachers will also be discussed for understanding how it affected the implementation of the GEEA.

In order to explore the importance of schools' policies, it is necessary to examine how the different policies and strategies of Azalea and Banyan High Schools affected the implementation and effectiveness of gender equity education. However, to explore this question requires some consideration of how school spaces can be conceptualised. In particular, it is worth reviewing geographical work on the conceptualisation of institutional settings, as the school is one of the institutions:

The term 'institution' refers to an organisation considered in relation to the effects of its internal structure and operating constraints on how it acts' (Manion and Flowerdew, 1982, p4).

Manion and Flowerdew (1982) pointed out that studies of institutions should emphasise the effects of the rules, procedures and internal structures of institutional spaces. They also highlight the tensions between the organisation and policies of the institutions and individuals' agency. Philo and Parr (2000) later criticized not only Manion and Flowerdew's chapter but also other articles in the same collection, *Institutions and Geographical Patterns*, edited by Flowerdew (1982) as taking institutions as pre-given entities. It has been argued that institutions should be seen as 'precarious geographical accomplishments', which are not prior, stable and fixed, but made, dynamic and fluid (Philo and Parr, 2000). In this case, Philo

and Parr (2000) shift the focus to examine how institutional settings are joined together, maintained or transformed. When studying school spaces, and considering institutions as ‘precarious geographical accomplishments’ as suggested by Philo and Parr, Holloway et al (2000) point out that schools are embedded within wider spaces (e.g. society), are important sites for negotiating identities (gender and sexual identities in this case), and are spaces where identities are reproduced through multilayered institutional cultures. The insights of Holloway et al (2000) are central to this Chapter which explores how schools interact with wider structures outside the walls as well as how schools were transformed by internal structures inside the walls.

This Chapter is divided into three sections considering how and why gender equity education was implemented differently in Azalea and Banyan High Schools. First, the effects of Azalea and Banyan High Schools being embedded in wider structures are explored. Second, the influences of institutional organisation, leadership and relationship between school managers and class teachers in these two schools are discussed. Third, the conclusion is provided to emphasise that schools are precarious geographical accomplishments.

5.2 Outside schools: the State and the society

In her empirical work for studying how a boy constructs his masculine identity, Dixon (1997) has suggested that children’s behaviours are shaped both at macro and micro social level in and out of school. Holloway et al (2000) also argue that institutions have to negotiate with other wider structures. These arguments lead to an important insight suggesting how Azalea and Banyan High Schools negotiated with wider structures out of schools and how the effects in turn influenced them implementing gender equity education in schools. The wider

structures in which these two schools were embedded can be identified as the Taiwanese society, the State and the hierarchical network of implementing gender equity education planned by Taipei City Government.

5.2.1 The role of school education in Taiwanese society

The relationship between education and society has been a long-debated issue, especially for scholars in pedagogy and sociology. One essential goal of the educational system is to ‘socialise’ children and young people, which means to equip them with particular skills to ensure them taking their future roles appropriately in the society as useful citizens. This approach conceptualises educational settings as the places for training people for the labour market (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a). The role of educational institutions is also about creating particular subject-identities, such as citizens with appropriate national, gender or sexual identities (Epstein and Johnston, 1998; Dixon, 1997; Gagen, 2000a, b; Harber, 2004; Holloway et al, 2000; Hyams, 2000; Nayak, 1999). There is some work that highlights that schools are places in which children and young people are contained and disciplined (Fielding, 2000; Hyams, 2000; James et al, 1998). In this case, they are segregated from a dangerous adult world and are transformed from ‘human becomings’ to human beings, as adults. These arguments provide an important insight for revealing how Azalea and Banyan High Schools negotiated with the Taiwanese society about the role of school education and how it affected their different practices of implementing gender equity education in schools.

Li and Wang (2007) point out that the dominant notion of Taiwanese society about the role of high school education is ‘getting young people to better universities’. Preparing pupils for universities is regarded as a core value of high school education through parents’ expectation,

teachers' practices and pupils' learning. However, it is argued that schools also have to pay attention to the social aspect of the education as the academic aspect of the education (Li and Wang, 2007). It is suggested that the most important challenge for Taiwanese schools is to consider 'what social values and future prospects pupils could obtain when they graduate from high schools' (Li and Wang, 2007, p165). The research finds that Azalea and Banyan High School viewed the role of school education differently. This distinction between two schools was suggested as having impacts on their school policies and practices of promoting gender equity education in schools.

Most teachers in Azalea and Banyan considered that the main purpose of high schools lay in getting pupils into good universities. However, the research finds that the Counselling Offices in two schools had room to negotiate the role of school education in Taiwanese society. For the Counselling Office in Azalea High School, the issue of gender equity was regarded beneficial for increasing pupils' knowledge and meaningful:

If this issue is taken away, we might think the only timing for raising the issue is when students need it. If students do not need it, it possibly won't be put into the curriculum. This would be problematic. The issue might be neglected in the process when schools are setting their priorities. However, the issue of gender equity education, at least in our school is usually paid attention to, concerned and highlighted (the Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School).

Therefore, the Counselling Office in Azalea High School suggested that improving pupils' understandings of gender equity was part of the school's mission. In other words, the role of school education was not only about academic achievement but also regarded to improve individuals' self-development. This attitude led to particular strategies for incorporating activities promoted by the local government - in this case a gender equity poster competition

- into Azalea High School:

For example, the poster competition⁷⁶, we will think, in fact I can do it very plainly. The simple way to do it is to change the rules suggested by the government slightly and then distribute the leaflets to every class or just hold a competition. However, you will find that no pupils would participate according to previous experiences. In general, pupils would not join these competitions voluntarily, because they would give their priority to their study (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

Therefore, before the competition, the Counselling Office adopted several strategies to promote this activity. First, it provided information about the competition publicly in school assemblies. Second, the Counselling Office talked to all counselling teachers and hoped them to integrate relevant issues of gender equity (e.g. introducing the concept of gender stereotype) into their teaching. Third, the Counselling Office asked that every class at least had to hand in one poster. Fourth, while pupils asked whether there was any punishment if they did not hand in the work, the Counselling Office provided rewards (e.g. stationery) encouraging pupils' participation rather than forcing them. In this case, the practice of implementing gender equity education was extended widely in different spaces in the school, not only contained within the Counselling Office, but also in school assemblies and classrooms.

After receiving posters from pupils, a further spatial strategy was adopted by the Counselling Office in Azalea High School. Pupils' work was exhibited at the entrance of the school hall for a few weeks. According to interviews with school managers, this exhibition served to make pupils be aware of the issue of gender equity. Through this spatial strategy, school

⁷⁶ The Taipei City Government often promotes the issue of gender equity education through holding a variety of competitions such as debates, essay writings, calligraphy, and website/poster/bookmark design. These strategies have been criticised to turn the implementation of the GEEA into talents competitions and have limited influences on improving pupils' understanding of the significance of gender equity (TGEEA, 2008).

managers in Azalea High School were concerned to make the issue of gender equity 'visible' in the school space. In other words, the school space was infiltrated by the idea of gender equity education and becomes a place where the ideas of gender equity education can take effect.

Moreover, school managers in Azalea High School also developed their own activities for promoting the issue of gender equity by organising events in which every pupil can take part:

It was called 'Halloween', as it was in the end of October. It was just an idea popping into my mind unexpectedly when I was shopping for Halloween costumes for my kids. I thought that Halloween was an interesting thing and we can just have stalls in school for pupils to come to have sweets. Then it developed as an activity called 'trick or treat' for promoting gender equity education. There was also information addressed about domestic violence, safety for making friends on the internet, sexual harassment and sexual assault integrated in the activity (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

According to school managers' explanations, the Counselling Office set up stalls in school for three days running at break times and lunchtime. Pupils were asked questions about their understandings of issues around gender equity. Those questions came from the information sheets distributed to pupils by the Counselling Office a few weeks before the event. The Counselling Office provided sweets, stationary and face-painting⁷⁷ for pupils participating in the games. For making this event appealing to pupils, a counselling teacher pointed out their consideration of arranging school space to hold the event:

We set up stalls on pupils' way to the school food shop. We think it is easier to attract them, because food is one of our prizes. They can have free food to eat (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

⁷⁷ If pupils give the right answers, apart from having sweets and having a present, they can also choose to paint teachers' faces. However, if pupils give the wrong answers, then they would get painted by teachers.

The research finds that the spatial strategies played an important role for Azalea High School implementing gender equity education. The way that the school place was utilised actually affected whether the event ‘hits or misses’. Moreover, during particular periods of time in those three days, the school space was temporarily transformed into a funfair in which the relationship between teachers (adults) and pupils (young people) was open to challenge:

As we offered opportunities for pupils to paint teachers’ faces as one form of the prizes if they had right answers for the questions, so they were keen to give it a go (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

These elements effectively contributed to the successful implementation of gender equity education. They also transformed the school into a different place from what pupils generally experienced. Therefore, the above discussion has shown that teachers in Azalea High School did not regard ‘getting pupils to better universities’ as the ‘only’ objective of high school education. As a result, school managers in Azalea High School not only tried to engage with the activities promoted by the local government but they also developed their own strategies to promote gender equity education.

In contrast, the Counselling Office in Banyan High School emphasised the academic aspect of education and considered that the most important thing for the school was to focus on improving pupils’ academic performances. This idea was prevailing in Banyan High School, as a school manager pointed out that most teachers shared this viewpoint:

It (gender equity education) is not the key point. Teachers in high schools have an issue...the pressure on teachers to send pupils to good universities are massive. So they would focus on it. As for other issues, they would consider whether it benefits pupils’ academic performances. If not, they would not be interested in them (The Head of the Academic Affairs Office, Banyan High School).

This quote suggests that although the emphasis on pupils' academic performance is common for school education in Taiwan, schools with lower test results/reputation might under more pressure to focus on pupils' academic attainment exclusively (see Chapter Three). Therefore, by holding the activities promoted by the local government, such as the poster competition as a way to raise pupils' awareness of the issue of gender equity, the Counselling Office indicated that they integrated all poster competitions which schools were requested to incorporate for fulfilling different policies. This meant that the issue of gender equity education was not given any specific consideration compared with other issues. Rather, it was taken as one of the tasks that the school needed to achieve the minimum requirement set by the local government.

There was another example to illustrate the Counselling Office's idea of the school's role in Banyan High School. While the Counselling Office indicated that one lecture for pupils and one workshop for teachers every semester was sufficient for implementing gender equity education, it had held eighteen lectures on the issue of career planning⁷⁸.

Because they (lectures on career planning) are useful, he/she (pupils) will need it. However, the issue of gender equity is **precautionary** (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School, emphasis added).

This quote shows that the dominant idea of school education in Banyan High School emphasises their function to assist pupils to enter labour market in the future, as more resources were allocated on the issue of career planning. On the contrary, the issue of gender equity was regarded not as practical or important as the issue of career planning. This

⁷⁸ It relates to inform pupils about how to decide which department they would like to study in university and how it might affect their future career path.

demonstrates that the issue of gender equity education was not part of Banyan High school's agenda in terms of being given low priority. As a result, the school space was greatly dominated by the culture of pursuing academic achievements, as it was suggested to be the favoured value of school's role in Banyan High School.

5.2.2 The negotiation between the local government and schools

Gender equity education is a national policy, as the GEEA is official legislation passed by the Legislative Yuan in the central government. However, local governments have the authority to decide how to implement gender equity education at regional level (Constitution, 1947). According to an administrative teacher interviewed in Azalea High School, she indicated that teachers were not normally aware of the GEEA, unless they had to check specific regulations in it. In this case, rather than implementing gender equity education by fulfilling the requirements of the GEEA, schools often implemented gender equity education by responding to policies announced by the Department of Education in Taipei City Government. This indicates that the local government was an important institution with which schools primarily negotiated about the implementation of the GEEA.

Gramsci's (1971) concept of 'hegemony' provides an understanding that institutions (such as schools) can be mobilized by the rulers making the ruled accept their subordinate position. In that case, social values and order can be maintained. Although Gramsci's concept of hegemony is based on the idea of consent, it is not to say that it will never be challenged. Rather, resistance is part of the process in constituting hegemony. Ives (2004) argues that it is important to develop complex understandings of consent and its relation to coercion for furthering discussion of hegemony. As gender equity education policies were imposed on

schools through processes of negotiations between Taipei City Government and schools, it is significant to explore how schools responded to the policy. Basically, the greater resistance from schools to the issue of gender equity education, the less they developed strategies to implement policies from the local government. The following discussion illustrates the way in which schools' relationships with the local government affected their implementations of the GEEA.

The research finds that Azalea and Banyan High Schools had different experiences of negotiating with the local government over policy. Azalea recognised the determinations and efforts made by the local government while Banyan highlighted pressure put on schools through policies. These distinct experiences affected schools' attitudes and actions to promote the issue of gender equity education:

The State highlights the role of schools and it hopes schools can do a lot of things for it. However, teachers might not care about it (The Head of the Academic Affairs Office, Azalea High School).

This school manager's opinion indicated the tension between the government's will and teachers' agency. Although this opinion was from a teacher in Azalea High School, the Counselling Office in the same school showed relatively positive feedback towards the local government's policies. For example, a few administrative teachers suggested that the school had certain flexibility to decide their own strategies under the governmental policies. They also recognised the local government's determinations and efforts:

I think the Department of Education, from my own observation for so many years, have made efforts in different aspects. For example, for junior high schools, they have organised teaching demonstrations for encouraging teachers to implement gender

equity education. They have also held the training programmes for teachers at collective time for each subject. Thus, teachers of that particular subject can attend those training programmes (The Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School).

The positive attitude within Azalea High School also came from their experience of interacting with the local government, especially when they experienced the difficulties to implement particular policies:

If we have some difficulties, we will report to the Department of Education. Then the Department of Education will get our messages and gives us response or flexibilities or makes some adjustments (The Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School).

Therefore, in Azalea High School the positive experiences of implementing gender equity education through interacting with the local government not only came from recognising the efforts made by the local government but also came from their active strategy to negotiate with local government during the process. These experiences made Azalea High School tend to take the issue of gender equity education on board in terms of incorporating local government's policies.

On the contrary, regarding itself as a receiver or an executor of local government policy, Banyan High School illustrated a different experience of negotiating with the local government through highlighting the additional pressure put on the school. For example, a school manager interviewed in Banyan High School indicated that the school was 'pushed' to do a lot of things because of the implementation of the GEEA. This administrative teacher also emphasised the increasing workload for the school. Also, the lack of resource, such as funding was another issue raised by teachers in Banyan High School. Apart from this, some teachers complained that it did not make sense for the school being requested by the GEEA to

submit forms reporting its progress in implementing gender equity education every semester, as the school had to fulfil various policies and they did not have much time for this specific issue anyway. The Counselling Office in Banyan High School also held strong expressions of pressure and frustration, as it was the main sector within the school to confront the policy of gender equity education:

Yes (there is more administrative workload and pressure), I have to prepare meeting notifications, ask teachers to become the members of the GEEC this year, print certificates for them and do loads of administrative work, but is there anyone promoting it (gender equity education)? (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School).

Day et al (2005) have argued that teachers' commitment can predict teachers' work performance. It is also pointed out that enthusiasm for the job and colleagues with whom one works are significant signs of commitment (Day et al, 2005). In this sense, it was evident to suggest that school managers in Banyan High School lacked either commitment or enthusiasm for implementing gender equity education because of prevalently negative attitudes to the policy among teachers.

As it is discussed above, there were different experiences in terms of how Azalea and Banyan High Schools negotiated with the local government as being embedded in the wider structure of the State. These distinct experiences resulted in different attitudes of these two schools. That is, Azalea High School demonstrated a proactive role in coping with gender equity education policies of the local government while a reactive role was adopted by Banyan High School to resist the implementation of the GEEA in general.

5.2.3 Being a seed or non-seed school

As it has been discussed above, the ways that Azalea and Banyan High Schools negotiated with wider structures outside of schools such as the role of education in Taiwanese society and governmental policies were very different. However, these distinct experiences also related to their different positions in the hierarchical structure set by the Taipei City Government for implementing the policies of gender equity education. The Department of Education in Taipei City Government had assigned several seed schools from its twelve districts (TGEEA, 2008). In this hierarchical network, Azalea High School was in a higher position than Banyan High School, as it was designated as a seed school. This means that Azalea High School had to fulfil more tasks such as organising meetings with other high schools in the same district. However, the seed schools would also be granted external funding⁷⁹ from the local government for implementing gender equity education. The assignment of seed school status was in fact a mutual decision made between the school and the Taipei City Government:

We had been invited (to act as a seed school) before. We declined the offer at that moment because we didn't think that we were capable of taking that position. Instead, we focused on our own counselling work in school (The Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School.)

The above school manager indicated that they did not take the offer in the past because the workload of the Counselling Office was heavy at that time. However, they decided to give it a try in the end. For the school, the decision was made between the Principal and the Counselling Office. School managers pointed out that they had paid more attention to gender

⁷⁹ For example in 2004, the funding for seed schools is 80,000 Taiwanese dollars (equivalent to 1,600 pounds) (TGEEA, 2008)

equity education such as communicating with class teachers the significance of integrating the issue into teaching and having more opportunities to exchange experiences with other schools because of being the seed school. Also, school managers in Azalea High School illustrated the advantages of being the seed school of implementing gender equity education. For example, they used the funding to organise activities or reward pupils for increasing their participation in those activities. Moreover, being a seed school was also regarded to motivate teachers in Azalea High School to take a proactive role in promoting the issue:

Our school is the seed school this year. Because of that, we have to implement the policies more thoroughly.

Because our school is the seed school, so some results need to be presented.

It should be put this way that we need to spend our budget. We also need to show results...there must be something (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

Compared with Azalea High School - a seed school - Banyan High School had less need to liaise with the local government. This difference also suggested that Banyan High School did not have as many opportunities as Azalea High School did to exchange experiences with other schools through being responsible for networking. Moreover, being a non-seed school meant that Banyan High School did not receive any additional funding from the local government and their only financial source came from the school's own budget. These all illustrated the effects of Banyan High School being located in a relatively marginal position of the current framework for implementing gender equity education in Taipei City. Therefore, it has been argued that every school should have the opportunity to take the role of being a resources centre or a seed school (TGEEA, 2008). In this case, every school has the chance to be offered the funding from the local government and to illustrate clearly about their progress in implementing gender equity education in that particular year.

However, it is interesting to note that the lack of financial supports was one of the significant comments from teachers in Banyan High School for elaborating difficulties for their school to implement gender equity education (see section 5.2.2). However, the Counselling Office in Banyan High School held a reactive attitude toward the idea of seeking external funding outside the school:

It is even more troublesome when you get funding. You need to prepare documents and send it back to the government within a certain period of time for claiming the money back. Moreover, that funding is only fifty thousand Taiwanese dollars⁸⁰ and you also need to come up with a plan to explain how you are going to spend the money. (Researcher: but you have more financial resources?)...we have our own school funding for the Counselling Office and funding for lectures. I do not like to take external funding outside the school (The Head of the Counselling office, Banyan High School).

As discussed above, being a seed school or not can influence schools' practices of implementing gender equity education. Different positions mean different possibilities for receiving additional funding and having more opportunities to build connections with other schools. The research finds that schools had the ability to negotiate with the local government about the decision of acting as a seed school. In particular, the Principal and the Counselling Office played the key role to make the final decision. This meant that the schools' positions at centre or margin in governmental hierarchical structure of implementing gender equity education can be negotiated, competed for or given up (i.e. not acting as a seed school). Next, the focus shifts from social structures outside the school to institutional cultures within the school. The following section aims to explore how schools' implementation of gender equity education was affected by administrative practices which reflected different school cultures of institutional division of work, leadership and the relationship between administrators and teachers.

⁸⁰ It equates one thousand British pounds (exchange rate 50:1).

5.3 Within schools: administrative practices for implementing the GEEA

Apart from the effects of being situated within wider structures beyond schools, educational practices were also affected by the internal organisation of institutions and policies in schools (Manion and Flowerdew, 1982). Holloway et al (2000) also argue that schools' cultures can shape particular identities within these educational settings. Therefore, the following section aims to reveal how the institutional division of work, leadership, and the relationship between school managers and class teachers affected the implementation of gender equity education in Azalea and Banyan High Schools.

In terms of institutional division of work, Azalea and Banyan High Schools shared a similarity: the Counselling Office was the main sector to deal with the local government's policies of gender equity education. However, other administrative offices ought to take a role in implementing the GEEA. Thus, it is important to explore how these administrative offices worked with the Counselling Office for promoting gender equity education. While the Counselling Office played the most significant role in Azalea and Banyan High Schools, the leadership of the Counselling Office seemed to affect the schools' practices. Therefore it is worthy investigating different approaches of the Counselling Office in the two schools in implementing gender equity education. Apart from this, the relationship between the Counselling Office and class teachers also illustrated how the issue of gender equity education was diffused within school spaces differently.

5.3.1 Institutional division of work

Scribner et al (1999) summarise that there are two possible understandings of schools: as

rational institutions or as communities. The former is a bureaucratic form of organisation which features 'linear lines of communication, chain-of-command decision making, differentiation of tasks, hierarchical supervision, and formal rules and regulations' (p135). However, the relationships experienced in community settings are characterised as a 'sense of shared identity, connectedness, trust, belonging, and mutual dependence that serves to the idea of community' (p135). These two ideas of conceptualising schools occupy opposite ends of the organisational spectrum. Hoy and Sweetland (2001) demonstrate that there are also conflicting ways of theorising bureaucracy. They further identify four types of school bureaucracy based on the concepts of formalization⁸¹ and centralization⁸²: namely, enabling bureaucracy, rule-bound bureaucracy, hierarchical bureaucracy, and hindering bureaucracy (Hoy and Sweetland, 2001).

The above theoretical concepts are helpful for exploring how schools operate as institutions. However, the significance of spatiality is arguably neglected in these aspatial theories. Therefore, it is worth paying attention to how geographies can construct or be constructed by institutional cultures (re)produced in school spaces. Bearing this in mind, it is important to identify how schools were organised and operated in Azalea and Banyan High Schools by focusing on their implementation of gender equity education.

As aforementioned, the Counselling Office was particularly subject to the responsibility of promoting gender equity education in both schools. However, there is no specific instruction in the GEEA to indicate which administrative offices should be the responsible sector in

⁸¹ 'Formalization is the degree to which the organization has written rules, regulations, procedures, and policies' (Hoy and Sweetland, 2001, p297).

⁸² 'Centralization of authority is the locus of control for organizational decision making; it is the degree to which employees participate in decision making' (Hoy and Sweetland, 2001, p299).

schools. A school manager in Azalea High School pointed out that the issue of gender equity education was assigned to the Counselling Office simply because ‘everybody thinks so’. However, another administrative teacher in Azalea High School explained that it was to do with the passing of Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law in 1997. After the law came into effect, counselling teachers were often requested by the schools to introduce the issue of gender equity in their teaching. Therefore, since then, the issue of gender equity education had been closely related to counselling classes as well as the Counselling Office.

In Azalea High School, apart from the Counselling Office, other administrative offices mainly regarded them as supportive sectors⁸³ for promoting the issue of gender equity education. Although school managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea indicated that all administrative offices were responsible for different aspects of implementing gender equity education, school managers in those offices in fact had different ideas about to what extent they would be involved in the issue. For administrative teachers in the Academic Affairs Office, they pointed out that it was unlikely for them to organise workshops for a particular subject about integrating the idea of gender equity into teaching. It would only be the Counselling Office that would hold workshops relevant to gender equity education:

If we hold a workshop in relation to integrating the idea of gender equity into maths teaching...teachers won't attend. We will receive complaints. What teachers want is to know more about, for example, workshop of confidence interval, which is the research relevant to statistics. They will consider this type of workshop is good (The Head of the Academic Affairs Office, Azalea High School).

School managers in the General Affairs Office in Azalea High School also indicated that if

⁸³ However, the Pupil Affairs Office indicates that they are the sector to receive the reports from teachers or students if there are any incidents of sexual assault or sexual harassment happening in school.

there were concerns about campus safety⁸⁴, it should be the Counselling Office's responsibility to gather information from pupils and teachers first. Then the General Affairs Office would be responsible for improving the physical environment according to collective opinions. This suggests that the General Affairs Office implemented the GEEA reactively, as it restricted its role as the construction sector within the school.

However, different from other administrative offices, school managers in the Library in Azalea High School played an active role in implementing gender equity education. It was regarded by the administrative teachers in the Library that although the Counselling Office was in charge, they could also make efforts to further promote the issue. For instance, purchasing relevant books introducing ideas of gender equity, contacting professional bookshops for advice, and deliberately inviting female speakers⁸⁵ giving lectures or seminars were strategies adopted by school managers in the Library in Azalea High School. In this case, some features of the school as a community can be identified as Scribner et al (1999) suggest. School managers in the Library shared the task of promoting gender equity education with the Counselling Office. However, overall, the tendency of school being a bureaucracy in terms of implementing gender equity education was still evident in Azalea High School, as most administrative teachers in other administrative offices had reactive attitudes to engage with the issue.

The circumstance of how the Counselling Office and other administrative offices shared the

⁸⁴ Article 12 of the GEEA states that schools shall provide a gender-fair learning environment and establish a safe campus environment. Article 9 of the ERGGEA further defines the meaning of a safe campus environment. It is stated that the school shall consider the planning of school space according to the principles of gender unbiasedness, safety friendliness and fair allocation.

⁸⁵ According to interviews with teachers, female speakers were invited deliberately as role models to show pupils that women can be successful in different fields.

responsibilities of implementing gender equity education was similar in Banyan High School. However, there had been a dispute about whether to assign the main responsibility of implementing gender equity education to the Counselling office or the Pupil Affairs Office. School managers in the Counselling Office indicated that their role would become contradictory if there were incidents of sexual assault or sexual harassment reported in the school. As school managers (as well as qualified counselling teachers) in the Counselling Office would need to provide the counselling services to the victims and offenders, it has been argued that it might cause conflicts between their roles as counsellors and administrators (Chen, 2005b).

In contrast to the concern of school managers in the Counselling Office, those in the Pupil Affairs Office pointed out that their office might be the more appropriate sector than the Counselling Office to be in charge of implementing gender equity education within the school:

We are the frontline to confront all pupils. I probably will offend counselling teachers by saying this, but basically they can only be in touch with a small number of pupils. Whether good or bad, those pupils are all individual cases sent to them. Thus, for our administrative team in the school, we are the frontline. In this sense, gender equity education should be assigned to the Pupil Affairs Office (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Banyan High School).

There were also different interpretations of why the Counselling Office was responsible for promoting policies of gender equity education. School managers in the Counselling Office suggested that this arrangement might be attributed to two possible reasons: in consideration of the existing workload of the Pupil Affairs Office or the Principal's intention to do so. In fact, teachers in the Counselling Office were not sure about why they were assigned the

responsibility. However, school managers in the Pupil Affairs Office indicated that the decision was made on the consideration of 'gender equity':

In fact, our consideration at that time was that females might be more aware of the issue than males. Thus, if female teachers⁸⁶ are responsible for this issue, it will be considered by others that we do it by considering gender equity and we respect females' ability to promote the issue. So we sought assistance from the Counselling Office. However, we will support them whenever asked (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Banyan High School).

However, the Counselling Office was not consulted or involved in the process of decision-making. Therefore, instead of understanding this division of work empowered women and was beneficial to the implementation of the GEEA, the above quote reveals the feminisation of the issue of gender equity education and the gender politics of delegating work in schools. School managers in the Pupil Affairs Office also highlighted its efforts to integrate the idea of gender equity into activities held by them. The strategy of gender-mixing was adopted:

For example, we have Aerobic dancing competition, I ask all pupils to take part in. There is no such thing that you do not have to dance because you are a boy or you are a girl who needs to dance more because girls dance well. It is a competition for pupils in their second year. I told them that it is an era of having boys and girls in the same class. Thus, all pupils in the same class need to work together. You don't distinguish one from another, as you belong to the same class (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Banyan High School).

On the surface, the above example seemed to achieve one of the objectives of the GEEA by focusing on equal treatments for girls and boys. However, it is uncertain to tell that the strategy of gender-mixing was based on the idea of gender equity or it just related to the fact

⁸⁶ In Taiwan, most counselling teachers are female. This was why the Head of Pupil Affairs Office considered that the Counselling Office should be the responsible sector of implementing gender equity education in school, as they had more female staff than other academic offices did.

that there were girls as well as boys in a class.

Compared with efforts of school managers in the Pupil Affairs Office, those in the Academic Affairs Office indicated their attitude and action of being a supportive sector of implementing gender equity education. However, their interpretation of being supportive in fact suggested a reactive attitude:

Because we are supportive sectors, so we will avoid the work as much as we can. There is no reward if we do it very well. To be honest, **we consider the issue as less important, like two or three out of ten.** We will disseminate the idea with teachers in workshops and meetings and ask teachers to hand in teaching plans. However, not like other activities, for example, the assessment of teachers' profession, we will ask teachers' participation. We will keep telling teachers how helpful it is...**However, we won't care so much about how many teachers return their teaching plans in terms of integrating the idea of gender equity into their teaching** (The Head of the Academic Affairs Office, Banyan High School, emphasis added).

The General Affairs Office and the Library in Banyan High School did not have specific strategies for promoting gender equity education. The connection between the Counselling Office and these two administrative offices was suggested to be very limited in general as well as in terms of implementing policies of gender equity education.

Similar to Azalea High School, a bureaucratic school structure in Banyan High was also evident. Although the response from the Pupil Affairs Office seemed to recognise the significance of gender equity education, it was difficult to suggest that the feature of school being community to share a sense of identity can be identified. School managers in the Counselling Office noted the reactive attitude of other administrative offices in implementing gender equity education:

Not their business...it is not easy I think. Everyone is paid to do one job. They won't take this issue very seriously, unless an incident happens (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School).

The Pupil Affairs Office also pointed out the difficulties for other administrative offices to engage with the issue:

It is difficult, because everyone is busy with their own affairs. It is the fact. The Department of Education (in Taipei City Government) will not solve this for you, because it is the school's own business. You need to find the time. It (Department of Education) is only responsible to delivery policies...in fact, limited time, limited space, limited resources, and limited personnel, it is difficult to keep the balance (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Banyan High school).

So far, the discussion has shown that the ways in which other administrative offices in schools shared responsibility and cooperated with the Counselling Offices affected schools' practices of implementing gender equity education as institutions. In particular, the discussion has explored how school managers in different administrative offices recognised their role in implementing gender equity education. The research finds that school managers' different understandings of their role affected their ability to engage with the issue of gender equity education to distinct extents.

5.3.2 The leadership of the Counselling Office

As the Counselling Office in Azalea and Banyan High Schools was the main department responsible for implementing the policies of gender equity education, it is important to understand what types of leadership school managers had and how those influenced their practices. However, it has to be understood that individual agency contributing to the

leadership did not happen in a vacuum. In other words, individuals' actions are not entirely personal decisions but also constrained by the social position in which they are located (Manion and Flowerdew, 1982). In this sense, the leadership of the Counselling Offices in both schools were constructed not only by school managers' personal preferences but also related to institutional divisions of work between administrative offices (see section 5.3.1). Specifically, this section focuses on what types of leadership the Counselling Office in Azalea and Banyan High Schools showed and how that influenced their strategies to implement policies of gender equity education and to organise their own Gender Equity Education Committee⁸⁷ (GEEC) in school. Scribner et al (1999) indicate that four factors can influence the establishment of professional communities in schools: leadership, organizational history, organization priorities, and organization of teacher work. This section aims to argue that these four factors are better understood as interrelated rather than as separate from one another. In particular, the research found that different styles of leadership affected organizational priorities and strategies in implementing the GEEA.

5.3.2.1 The space of the Counselling Office

Before discussing leadership in relation to the implementation of gender equity education, it is important to explore the organisation of the Counselling Office in both schools. In Azalea High School, the leadership of the Counselling Office was constructed by the Head of the

⁸⁷ There are eight tasks stated in the Article 6 of the GEEA that the Gender equity Education Committee in the school shall achieve: (1) to integrate resources of different administrative offices, draft gender equity education projects and examine the results of the projects; (2) to plan and implement activities related to gender equity education for pupils, staff, faculty and parents; (3) to research, develop and promote courses/teaching/assessments on gender equity education; (4) to draft and implement regulations on gender equity education and prevention of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus, establish mechanisms to coordinate and integrate related resources; (5) to investigate and handle cases related to this Act; (6) to plan and establish a safe and gender-fair campus; (7) to raise the issue of gender equity to parents and local community; (8) other matters related to gender equity at school or community level.

Office and another school manager who was particularly responsible for the administrative affairs related to gender equity education policies. According to interviews, these two administrative teachers shared leadership that they often discussed how to achieve local government's requirements for implementing gender equity education. The spatial arrangement of the Counselling Office in Azalea was suggested to enable this form of reciprocal interactions among school managers. There were four independent rooms in the Counselling Office for providing counselling services for pupils. Apart from these rooms, the Head of the Office and other counselling teachers all shared the same space without concrete walls between them. In this case, it was found from observation that the interaction and communication between teachers was frequent and immediate.

In contrast, the leadership of the Counselling Office in Banyan High School was held exclusively by the Head of the Office. The Head of the Counselling Office in Banyan High School was therefore the only person who practically dealt with administrative affairs in relation to the policies of gender equity education. Other counselling teachers were only responsible for providing counselling service to pupils. It is important to note that the construction of leadership was related to differences in spatial arrangements and personnel resources of the Counselling Office in two schools. In Banyan High School, there were also a few small rooms for counselling services. However, the Head of the Counselling Office in Banyan had her own independent office while other counselling teachers shared another space. The result of observation shows that the atmosphere in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School was often quiet and less interaction occurred between teachers. These distinct spatial arrangements in the Counselling Office in Azalea and Banyan High School produced different working environments as well as the school culture within them. In Azalea High School, the conversation and interaction between teachers was frequent while in

Banyan High School, teachers seemed to be concentrated on their own business.

5.3.2.2 Leadership: the matter of gender equity education

The different styles of leadership in the two schools can also be attributed to school managers' attitudes toward the issue of gender equity education. In Azalea High School, school managers interviewed in the Counselling Office had positive attitudes to gender equity education, referring to gender equity education as a meaningful and interesting issue. This attitude suggested that school managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea recognised the significance of gender equity education and explained their enthusiasm for implementing relevant policies.

Why other things are not 'extra things' but the gender equity education is? I don't feel that way. It is an issue that everyone can put his/her efforts together (The Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School).

According to school managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea, a lot of efforts were put into implementing government policies in their school. The annual themes⁸⁸ set by the local government were developed to encourage pupils' participation. Moreover, the leadership of the Counselling Office in Azalea High School sought to develop co-operative working relationship with other class teachers:

⁸⁸ The annual themes of implementing gender equity education are set by the Taipei City Government. From 2003 to 2007 themes for high school education have included: gender roles and career planning; gender stereotypes in the media; diversity and respect; the awareness of gender equity; say no to violence and respect different gender temperament (TGEEA, 2008).

My strategies would be to cooperate with other class teachers of different subject if there is an activity promoted by it (local government). For example, if it (local government) holds a competition of writing stories, then I would cooperate with Chinese teachers and circulate details of the competition. So some Chinese teachers would ask pupils to do the exercise in class or encourage them to write those stories after school. Moreover, Department of Education had had an activity of designing cards of 'true love maxim', and my strategy at that time was to work with teachers in Home Economics (The Head of the Counselling office, Azalea High School).

Thus, this style of team-working leadership in Azalea High School implemented the policies by inviting class teachers' participation and turned the relevant activities into collaborative projects between the Counselling Office and class teachers. In doing this, they were also able to make pupils aware of the issue of gender equity through individual teachers' influences. Through this process, the issue of gender equity education diffused into micro spaces such as classrooms. In this case, the issue of gender equity education was not only retained in the Counselling Office as a policy on paper but it was put into practices within the school space.

Communication between the Counselling Office and class teachers played a key role in constructing this style of team-working leadership in Azalea High School. Through this process, school managers in the Counselling Office were able to identify some class teachers who they could work with again in the future. An administrative teacher pointed out:

Some teachers are more aware of the issue (gender equity education), and then they will be willing to participate in or show their interest. However, some teachers may want to follow the old rules, and thus they lack motivation to join us. As time goes by, you will probably know which teachers you can work with and which teachers you cannot (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

Suarez-Balcazar et al (2007) suggest that the crucial strategy to enable new innovations is to build networks. In the process of networking, individuals are exposed to new options and

ideas, so it is easier to make strong commitments to change. Through actively seeking cooperation from class teachers, the leadership of school managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea High School strategically built up its own network for implementing gender equity education. Also, by constantly disseminating information and working with different teachers, it is easier to generate teachers' commitment to implementing gender equity education.

The last section has demonstrated that the Counselling Office in Banyan High School prioritised career planning over the issue of gender equity education. The latter was regarded as not as useful as the former. Therefore, there have been fewer recourses and lower priority given to the issue of the gender equity education. This suggests that the Head of the Counselling Office in Banyan was not keen on this issue. Indeed, school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School still expressed a reluctant attitude to take responsibility to promote gender equity education. School managers also considered that their class teachers and parents were supposed to take more responsibilities in relation to the issue of gender equity education:

They are teaching this (gender equity) in Health and Nursing courses. I don't know how the Nursing courses are or whether pupils listen to the teacher, but they have the curriculum and time, two hours a week for all pupils. So I don't think the affair should be assigned to the Counselling Office. Parents also need to teach their children about issues such as interpersonal relationships, dating, breaking up and developing sexual relationship. This is not the Counselling Office's own business (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School).

It has been demonstrated that teachers' enthusiasm for and commitment to their work is crucial in determining whether the quality of the education provided to students can be

maintained or improved (Day et al, 2005). It was reported by class teachers in Banyan High School that the Head of Counselling Office had not been devoted to implement the gender equity education. Therefore, the construction of leadership in the Counselling Office was suggested to be reactive and negative, as the responsibility of promoting gender equity education was resisted. Apart from resisting the designated leading role in implementing gender equity education, the school manager of the Counselling Office in Banyan also had doubts about the necessity of implementing gender equity education at the stage of high school education:

I don't think it is useful to promote the issue in senior high schools. I think what should be taught has been taught in counselling classes in junior high schools. First, we do not have much time to be in touch with pupils. Moreover, how many influences can be brought by lectures once or twice a year? I still think everyday life and class teachers' ideas are more important. However, it is not us who can change teachers' ideas. So it needs to go back to university education. The point is not about what administrative offices in school should do but teachers should be given such ideas in their training programmes at university (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School).

Thus, while school managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea High School had tried to bring the issue of gender equity education into individual classrooms through cooperating with class teachers, those in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School resisted responsibility for gender equity education. Suarez-Balcazar et al (2007) suggest that people who oppose and resist changing the status quo do so because they have a vested interest in keeping the situation as it is. For school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School, it was evident that the personal resistances mattered in affecting the institutional implementation of gender equity education.

This style of reactive leadership of the Counselling Office in Banyan High School affected

how they implemented the gender equity education policies in different ways. First, in responding to the local government's policy, the Counselling Office did not take the initiative to seek particular teachers' cooperation. Second, some class teachers indicated that the Counselling Office had encouraged them to integrate the issue into activities or developing teaching plans. However, these communications were ineffective as it happened randomly and the Counselling Office did not follow up the progress afterwards. Third, inefficient communication and lack of will behind the Counselling Office's strategies was suggested to be unable to motive school teachers to integrate the idea of gender equity into educational practices:

The school expects everyone can discuss the issue in the hours of class meeting. However, it is only **expectation**. It is just like some people hope everyone will pay attention to the issue. If I were a tutor and if that is what the school wants, **I will say no need to do it, and just find some pupil who is good at writing to write down something for the record**. We have other things to do (Chinese teacher, Banyan High School, emphasis added).

The current strategies adopted by school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School were providing class teachers with topics for facilitating discussion among pupils. However, this strategy for engaging with gender equity was regarded as neither interesting nor appealing for teachers or pupils. According to interviews with class teachers in Banyan, the unimaginative strategies adopted by the Counselling Office only proved that it was not attentive to the issue of gender equity education.

5.3.2.3 The establishment of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC)

The different styles of leadership of the Counselling Office in two case study schools were

also reflected in how they organised their Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC) in school. In Azalea High School, apart from the Principal, secretary of the Principal⁸⁹, other members were the Heads of all administrative offices and representatives of teachers and parents. According to the Head of Counselling Office in Azalea High School, the GEEC was organised in a way that encouraged that all administrative offices would engage with the issue of gender equity education. School managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea High School also highlighted their concern for ‘continuity’, especially for the representatives of the teachers and parents. According to school managers in the Counselling Office, they hoped that these members would remain on the Committee for longer than a year. In this case, the school’s policies and practices for implementing gender equity education could develop and grow. The research found that school managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea High School attempted to ensure gender equity education as a sustainable issue in their school. As a result, most members of the GEEC interviewed in Azalea High School expressed a positive attitude toward the establishment and operation of the GEEC. They also recognised the Committee’s functions of networking, exchanging ideas and disseminating information about relevant policies and regulations.

The formation of collaborative understandings among Heads of administrative offices as members of the GEEC can also be attributed to the layout of school building. In Azalea High School, all other offices except for the Library were located in the same floor and next to each other. This type of spatial arrangement could be identified as a ‘horizontal’ pattern. However, a ‘vertical’ pattern of spatial arrangement was found in Banyan High School, as every office was in the same location but on a different floor. The horizontal pattern of spatial

⁸⁹ The position of secretary of the Principal is assigned by the Principal to a teacher (Guidelines for High Schools Organisation in Taipei City, 2005). The person in this position is responsible for assisting the Principal to deal with school affairs.

arrangement of office locations enabled interaction and communication between offices better than the vertical pattern, as the collaborative understandings among offices in Azalea High School were stronger than they were in Banyan High School.

In contrast, the reactive leadership of school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School also affected their ways of organising the GEEA and class teachers' attitudes to the role and function of the Committee. In terms of membership of the GEEC, the Counselling Office showed an attempt to recruit more class teachers into the Committee. Apart from the Principal, the Heads of all administrative offices, and a representative of parents, the Counselling Office also requested teacher representatives from each subject. It seemed that the Counselling Office in Banyan High School made efforts to increase class teachers' involvement with gender equity education by inviting them into the GEEC. However, most class teachers indicated that they did not see the point of establishing the GEEC in school, as neither were they informed about their roles nor assigned any task after the meeting. Therefore, according to interviews with class teachers, they suggested that their main experience of taking part in the GEEC was witnessing the reactive attitude of the Counselling Office in implementing gender equity education. In other words, the operation of the GEEC in Banyan High School failed to create opportunities for members to exchange ideas or discuss the school's strategies to promote gender equity education. Rather, most members regarded it as a bureaucratic routine.

According to above discussion, the style of team-working leadership in Azalea High School seemed to create a more collective and engaging model of implementing gender equity education than the reactive leadership found in Banyan High School could achieve. Meier

and Bohte (2001) argue that rigid structural controls over teacher discretion are less needed, when the teachers are highly professionalised. However, in terms of implementing gender equity education, school managers in the administrative offices were exposed to more information and than other class teachers (TGEEA, 2008). Therefore, the findings suggest that it is important for the administrative offices, especially the Counselling Offices, to strengthen their leadership by playing an active role in motivating teachers to engage with gender equity education.

5.3.3 The relationship between school managers and class teachers

Hess et al (2000) point out that teachers' attitudes toward school reform can be shaped by school cultures. If cultures in educational settings are focused, positive and supportive, teachers are more likely to view the changes as constructive opportunities. However, if teachers are not in a supportive educational environment, they tend to regard school reform as an external problem (Hess et al, 2000). The research findings suggest that the relationship between administrative offices (the Counselling Office in particular) and class teachers were very different in Azalea and Banyan High School. Thus, it is crucial to explore the ways in which different relationships between administrative offices and class teachers (as part of school cultures) affected schools' implementation of gender equity education as a whole.

The relationship between administrative offices and class teachers was managed in different ways. The way that the Counselling Office in Azalea and Banyan High School organised their GEEC revealed different perspectives on the role of administrative offices and class teachers in the matter of implementing gender equity education. In Azalea High School, the GEEC

was primarily constituted by the Heads of administrative offices. Among these members of the Committee, there was only one teacher representative. This arrangement of membership suggested that administrative offices in Azalea High School were expected to take the leading role and take primary responsibility for implementing gender equity education. However, for the GEEC in Banyan High School, more class teachers were invited by the Counselling Office to take part. This arrangement indicated that class teachers in general were expected to share the responsibility with administrative offices in implementing gender equity education. It has been shown that there were two distinct attitudes to the role of administrative offices and class teachers in implementing gender equity education in two case study schools.

In Azalea High School, as school managers in the Counselling Office recognised the office's role in leading the implementation of gender equity education in school, they appeared to be active and made efforts to work with class teachers:

As for strategies, we would work with different teachers or use different personnel resource to carry out it (gender equity education) (The Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School).

Sometimes we need to put in more efforts to invite them (teachers). So then they would encourage pupils' participation in relevant activities or events (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

These quote show that school managers in the Counselling Office invited other class teachers' participation kindly rather than being authoritative or commanding. Also, the horizontal spatial arrangement enabled the Counselling Office to have spontaneous and face-to-face conversation with class teachers. School managers in the Counselling Office in Azalea High School were also positive about their previous experiences of working with other teachers. As a result, Azalea High School had good results with pupils' participation in competitions or

activities due to other class teachers' assistance, according to school managers in the Counselling Office. This reciprocal relationship between administrative offices and class teachers was significant in affecting the implementation of gender equity education in Azalea High School.

In contrast, school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan High School did not play their role as actively as those in the Counselling Office in Azalea did. Rather, school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan considered that other class teachers had to be proactive in this matter. In this sense, school managers in the Counselling Office in Banyan complained about class teachers' lack of motivation in implementing gender equity education. As for class teachers interviewed in Banyan, they then criticised insufficient efforts made by the Counselling Office. According to class teachers, they were given limited information about how to engage with gender equity education. The tension between administrative offices and class teachers in Banyan was further illustrated by the Heads of the Counselling Office and the Academic Affairs Office:

They (teachers) are happy if they are interested in an issue and they would do something about it voluntarily. In this case, it is okay for us administrators to support them. However, if the administrative office asks them to promote an issue, they would complain about their tight teaching schedule or that their (pupils') academic performances would be affected. They would not care about that issue (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School).

Teachers can achieve things which they like to do. However, if we administrators ask them to do something, they would start to question us. 'Is it beneficial for increasing pupils' academic performance?' There is a difference. If we administrators ask teachers to do this or that, they often resist (The Head of Academic Affairs Office, Banyan High School).

The research finds that in the case of Banyan High School, the 'vertical' spatial pattern

hindered the cooperation between administrative offices and teachers, as administrative offices and class teachers' office were all on different floors. Therefore, it was unlikely for them to have frequent or spontaneous opportunities to exchange ideas, seek support or pass information on a face-to-face basis. The Head of Counselling Office in Banyan pointed out that it was difficult to know which class teachers were interested in the issue of gender equity education:

We might just meet each other a few times per semester, because we are on different floors, we don't teach the same class and we don't need to make any contact concerning our job (The Head of Counselling Office, Banyan High School).

This conflicting relationship between administrative offices and class teachers in Banyan High School highlights how school practices can limit the implementation of gender equity education. The research finds that the administrative offices and class teachers both tended to complain about each other for not playing the active role. As a result, neither party was attentive to gender equity education.

5.4 Conclusion

This Chapter explores schools' implementation of gender equity education policy by conceptualising schools as institutions embedded within wider social structures. Through this process of embedment, schools are made, maintained and transformed. Three wider influences on school policy were hence identified and discussed: the State, the society and the hierarchical framework for implementing gender equity education. Schools were specific institutions where educational policies from the State were put into practice. Schools are also important fields in which different values were contested, especially in terms of schools' roles

in/for the society. In terms of gender equity education, school positions in the hierarchical framework of the local government were significant in determining the allocation of resources. This difference affects schools' capability to carry out the policy efficiently or not. These wider structures in which schools were embedded have made schools important sites where social values were contested and power relations between the local government and schools were negotiated.

As stated above, as educational institutions, schools were not only embedded within wider structures beyond the school walls, but also contained tangled administrative structures within schools' walls, such as administrative organisation, leadership and relationship between administrative offices and teachers. These institutional cultures were found to affect the schools' distinctive implementation of gender equity education. More importantly, during the process of implementation, school spaces were inscribed by these cultures while some of the cultures were actually (re)created by school geographies. These institutional cultures had great influences on the visibility of the issue of gender equity education in schools, as the very spatial strategy was particularly significant in Azalea High School. In some ways, the implementation of gender equity education actually depended on how the ideas and messages were disseminated within different school spaces. However, the institutional cultures played important roles in determining whether to adopt proactive or reactive strategies.

This research finds that Azalea and Banyan High Schools implemented the issue of gender equity education very differently. In short, the former was more proactive and willing to make efforts to achieve the goals of the educational policy while the latter was more reactive and only gave minimum commitments to promote the issue. The differences can be identified in several aspects of school cultures. School managers in Azalea High School appeared to

hold positive attitudes towards the issue and its relevant policies. Different offices in Azalea High School also had clearer understandings about their individual role in terms of the gender equity education issue. Apart from this, the style of leadership in Azalea High School enabled a more effective participation from class teachers and pupils. However, in Banyan High School, the additional burden and dissatisfaction resulting from promoting gender equity education was highlighted. Administrative teachers tended to have passive attitudes of coping with the issue. Also, the style of leadership in Banyan High School did not provide enough opportunities to increase class teachers' involvement.

In sum, this Chapter has shown that the schools are not stable institutions but are constructed by wider structures out of schools and by institutional cultures in school as well. The next Chapter explores how teachers responsible for implementing the GEEA in the classroom seek to shape young people's gender and sexual identities.

Chapter Six: Correspondent and contradictory agendas: how class teachers shape young people's gender and sexual identities

6.1 Introduction

The last Chapter explored the different ways administrative offices responded to the Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA) and its relevant policies. However, it is important to explore whether contemporary educational practices have been influenced by the GEEA, and how they achieve substantive gender equity, eliminate gender discrimination, and promote respect for different gender and sexual⁹⁰ subjects (Article 1, the GEEA, 2004; Rule 2, ERGEEA, 2005). This Chapter therefore shifts the focus to reveal how class teachers constructed and normalised particular gender and sexual identities.

Numerous academic studies have explored schools as important sites for constructing young people's gender and sexual identities (Arnot, 2002; Dixon, 1997; Epstein and Johnston, 1998; Holloway et al, 2000; Hyams, 2000; Jackson, 2006; Kehily, 2002; Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Krenichyn, 1999; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Morris-Roberts, 2004; Rasmussen, 2006; Reay, 2001; Renold, 2005; Valentine, 2000). Among these studies, one of the significant debates relates to whether the school is the place to reinforce conventional identities or to enable alternative possibilities. This has been termed as 'contradictory functions of modern schooling' (Mac an

⁹⁰ For fully exploring the implementation of the GEEA and gender equity education in Taiwanese context, a broader (or unusual) understanding needs to be realised first. It relies on acknowledging the fact that the GEEA and gender equity education in Taiwan actually relate to different themes (gender equity, sexuality equity, assistance of pregnant pupils and prevention of sexual assault and harassment) more than their titles literally suggest. These themes are all stated in the Act and form parts of discourses of gender equity education in Taiwan.

Ghaill, 1994, p9). Despite different perspectives, it is evident that schools are crucial places where young people come to learn about gender and sexual norms and shape their identities.

The important role schools can play in shaping young people's gender and sexual identities is clearly recognised in the GEEA. Its primary function is to ensure gender equity in schools. 'No one shall be discriminated against due to his or her sex, sexual orientation, gender temperament or gender identity' (Rule 2, ERGEEA, 2005). In this sense, recognising equal gender and sexual subjects, and the diversity of gender and sexual identities, is essential for schools implementing gender equity education.

The existing discussion of how schools construct, normalise or police young people's gender and sexual identity has focused on the role of formal or informal curriculum. However, there has not been a formal curriculum developed specifically for gender equity for high school education⁹¹ in Taiwan. For teaching practices of promoting gender equity education in high schools, the idea of 'integration' into the existing curriculum is highlighted in the GEEA (Article 17, GEEA, 2004). Teachers' individual efforts and interpretations of their own subjects are relied upon. In other words, teachers' pedagogical practices come to play an important part in affecting young people's understandings of gender and sexual identities. This Chapter draws on interviews with teachers and observation done in the classroom to reveal the ways in which teachers shaped young people's gender and sexual identities in different contexts. Specifically, this Chapter focuses on school regulations, teaching practices

⁹¹ There has not been a systematic curriculum of gender equity education at a national level. However, the first stage of developing a curriculum framework for integrating gender equity education into teaching in high schools has been launched. A research report, 'Key Abilities for Pupils to Develop in High Schools' entrusted by the Ministry of Education was finished in 2007. The need for adding the gender equity education issue to a curriculum framework for high schools and the possibility of setting a particular subject are suggested in the conclusion of the research report.

and teachers' attitudes to different gender and sexual identities. Before revealing the research findings, it is important to explore how the notion of gender and sexual identity is conceptualised in the GEEA. This serves as the foundation to understand whether teachers' attempts to shape young people's gender and sexual identities correspond to the objectives of the GEEA.

In different versions of the drafts⁹² of the GEEA, a clear guideline toward the implementation of sex education in school education is stated: 'whether what topics it (sex education) includes, psychology of sex, physiology of sex, health and medical education, intimate relationship, marriage and family, or sexual orientation, should adopt the constructive approach and conform to the principle of gender equity'. It is evident that the understanding of gender and sexual identities of the GEEA is based on constructivism⁹³. Constructivism challenges essentialism for claiming the idea that gender and sexual identities are pre-existed, fixed and rooted in biology (Rasmussen, 2006). Instead, constructivist approach conceptualises identity as 'an embodiment of social, cultural and historical constructions' (Arnot and Mac an Ghaill, 2006, p4). The concept of 'performativity' developed by Butler (1990) provides a particularly important insight to constructivism. She argues that 'gender' is not something that people have but something that people 'do' and repetitively 're-do' through everyday practices. Further than that, through interpreting Butler's concept of 'heterosexual matrix', Renold (2005, p7) suggests that normative gender identities are 'inextricably tied to dominant notions of heterosexuality'. The discussion above has shown

⁹² These three versions are the Report on the Draft of Two Sexes Equity Education Act (Ministry of Education, 2001), the Document of the Draft 1 of the GEEA (Ministry of Education, 2003) and the Document of the Draft 2 of the GEEA (Ministry of Education, 2003).

⁹³ Article 19 in the GEEA is another example. It is stated that 'teachers shall encourage pupils to take courses in fields that are not traditionally affiliated with their gender'. This statement actually challenges the idea that boys and girls have naturally distinct aptitudes for different subjects or occupations. It also implies that consequences of gendered subjects and gendered occupations are socially constructed. Thus, it can be re-constructed. This is what the Article exactly suggests in terms of constructive perspective.

that the idea of gender identities are theorised in different ways.

Inspired by the discussion above, gender and sexual identities are considered as social and cultural products in this research. This Chapter aims to explore what discourses and practices schools adopted to construct young people's gender and sexual identities. Specifically, the discussion focuses on teachers' practices and attitudes to issues around masculinity, femininity and sexual identities. In doing so, the research intends to explore whether these educational practices could achieve the objectives of the GEEA.

6.2 Masculine identities

Article 12 of the GEEA requests that schools shall respect people's different gender temperament. Also, Rule 2 of the ERGEEA requires that people should not be discriminated because of his or her gender temperament. Therefore, in implementing gender equity education, recognising diverse forms of masculinity and femininity is one of the significant tasks for schools.

In order to explore masculine identities, it is important to note that masculinity and femininity are often acknowledged and defined in an exclusive way (Kehily, 2001). Connell's (1995) concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' is found useful to explore the plural forms of masculinity and hierarchical relationships among them. Adopting Gramscian insight, Connell has argued that the dominant gender view is not only won by coercion but also by consent of mutual acceptance (cited in Mac an Ghaill, 1994). While the concept of hegemonic masculinity is widely adopted in relevant studies, Skelton (2001b) points out that the use of typologies or

categories of masculinity can be seen a misrepresentation of Connell's theory, as it serves to 'fix' and 'consolidate' gender identity. Informed by Skelton's insight, the following discussion does not intend to categorise young men by their gender performances, but aims to understand how class teachers responded to diverse masculinities that they encountered in the schools.

6.2.1 Boys being better and active learners?

Interviews with teachers in Azalea and Banyan High Schools highlighted a widespread assumption that boys were better or more active learners than girls. The research finds that this perception related to the idea that boys and girls had naturally distinct aptitudes. In other words, teachers tended to suggest that boys and girls were good at different subjects. The Head of the Academic Affairs Office in Banyan High School explained physics teachers resisted integrating the idea of gender equity education into teaching by insisting the fact that 'girls cannot do physics'.

Teachers also suggested that boys were good at particular subjects because they were logical and rational compared with girls. A History teacher in Azalea High School considered that boys' academic performances were better than girls' according to her experiences. She then concluded that it was because of the nature of the subject and the nature of boys. By considering history as a subject closely related to logics and inference, boys were believed to be good at it. According to the history teacher, 'boys are good at logical thinking and boys are naturally interested in politics, wars and debates'. In this sense, the construction of masculinity was linked to essential understandings of gender difference in aptitudes.

Based on the above perception, the research findings demonstrate that teachers' practices further served to reinforce this notion of masculinity. According to some teachers, they intentionally picked boys more than girls when asking difficult questions. Teachers explained this difference was due to their belief in boys' ability to answer the questions and they were also worried about girls being embarrassed if they did not know the answer. Therefore, boys were (re)constructed as more intelligent, tough and ready to be challenged through teachers' pedagogical practices in class. These masculine performances were considered as natural and favourable features of masculine identity and opposite to conventional femininity. Nevertheless, teachers interacted with boys more than girls not only because they believed boys and girls had distinct aptitudes in different subjects, but also because they understood boys as active and girls as passive in learning processes.

There were other teachers in Azalea and Banyan High Schools who did not necessarily agree with the idea that boys did better in some subjects. According to interviews with these class teachers, they considered that individual efforts mattered. A History teacher in Banyan High School did not regard that there was a gender difference in pupils' academic performance⁹⁴. However, she believed that boys were less shy and more active than girls in class:

Boys would give you some reaction more or less anyway when asked questions...but for girls, if she doesn't know the answer, she just remains silent (History teacher, Banyan High School).

⁹⁴ A History teacher in Banyan High School pointed out that pupils' academic performance may have a closer connection with their individualities rather than their gender. This teacher said she had had an idea that 'girls are concerned with details and to remember those trivial names. However, boys can catch the big picture because they are less concerned about details'. However, this idea of gender difference in learning had been challenged and deconstructed by a boy in one of her classes who is particularly concerned with all the details to an extent 'that almost drives me crazy', said by the teacher.

However, being assumed as active and less shy learners, boys were also often picked upon by teachers when they were considered as trouble makers or scapegoats.

Usually boys are noisier. Although he is not the loudest person, I would still call his name and ask them to be quiet. I am afraid that if I call a girl's name she would cry or what (History teacher, Banyan High School).

This disciplinary practice obviously went against the values of the GEEA. In the supporting documents of Article 14 of the Draft 3 of the GEEA (Ministry of Education, 2004), it is stated specifically that schools should avoid unequal treatments for boys and girls, for example, 'giving boys more punishments than girls when they conduct the same misbehaviours' (p122). However, teachers failed to respond to this imperative based on their understanding about the difference between boys and girls in terms of their activeness and passivity.

Therefore, it can be concluded that although there were disagreements about whether boys did better in particular subjects, teachers seemed to share similar ideas constructing masculinity as active, socially confident and tough in terms of being learners. Therefore, boys were generally presumed ready to be challenged or to be able to take the blame as scapegoats in the classroom. However, both constructions of masculinity did not serve to promote gender equity or equal subjects, as different treatments for boys and girls were adopted. In this case, boys were the focus in class, and they were under the pressure to repetitively perform a certain type of masculine identity presumed and reinforced by teaching practices in the classroom.

It is interesting to note that some Western research (Mac an Ghail, 1994, 1996; Renold,

2005; Walkerdine, 1990) points out that boys who are devoted in academic achievement are often considered as less masculine as boys who enjoy exercise highlighting physical competence (such as sports). However, in these two case study schools, the importance of academic achievement was the most valued idea. Therefore, boys who did well in their studies were not considered less manly in Taiwanese context.

6.2.2 Boys being clowns and enjoying having fun

Another common perception of masculinity in both Azalea and Banyan High Schools is that boys' behaviours can be clown-like. According to interviews with teachers and class observation, it was suggested that 'making fun' was an important part of peer culture among boys. The results of class observation suggest that boys often did not answer teachers' questions seriously but enjoyed making fun of them⁹⁵. According to class observation in Banyan High School, boys were used to have their own fun by clapping and cheering loudly when other boys answered questions correctly⁹⁶. Circumstances like these were usually considered harmless, and were seen by some teachers in both schools to create a more relaxed atmosphere in the classroom.

It has been argued that schools are sexualised institutions. Valentine (2001b) points out that sex and sexuality are important elements embedded in different forms of social interaction in

⁹⁵ For example, when the teacher asked the name of an important figure in Self-Strengthening Movement Emerging in late Ch'ing China, boys were not giving serious answers but instead calling celebrities or singers' names.

⁹⁶ Similar behaviour among boys was found from observation done in class in the Azalea High School. However, it was more aggressive. A competitive atmosphere between male pupils is particularly evident if a boy was praised by the teacher. 'Who the hell you think you are' and 'dick' were comments given immediately by other boys. These comments were loud enough for the researcher to hear in the back of the classroom. However, the teacher of that class said in the interviews that she was not aware of this situation.

schools. The findings from interviews and class observation⁹⁷ show that themes of sex and sexuality were general resources of which boys made fun. However, the understanding of being clowns, as a part of masculine identities did not necessarily bring the same attitudes and reactions among teachers within both schools in terms of implementing gender equity education. It depended on individual teachers' awareness and reactions to the context of jokes. During the period of conducting class observation in Azalea High School, the mention of male genitalia and implication of sex-related activities were main themes in most of boys' jokes⁹⁸. However, teachers either did not seem to notice that or were not able to deal with this effectively. For examples, interviews with pupils in Azalea High School highlighted a significant episode in a class of Nursing and Health on contraception. During the class, some boys made fun by turning the penis model upside down to 'authenticate' it when girls were called to demonstrate the usage of condom. According to pupils, the female teacher had attempted to stop boys' behaviours but the scene seemed to be out of the teacher's control. This example illustrates the way that the failure of teachers' intervention could further enable boys to perform their masculinity through sex-talk and conducting behaviours with sexual implications (Dixon, 1997).

Mac an Ghaill (1994) has demonstrated that public sex-talk reveals young men's attempt to validate their masculinity to their male friends. However, the research finds that there were

⁹⁷ The Classroom is a specific space saturated by ideas of sex, sexuality and gender, as a graffiti on desk of a class in Azalea High School can show. The graffiti was drawn in a kind of mathematic formula. 'Cock=Penis=Willy=Paul (a boy's name). Proved: Cock=Paul. Cool=handsome=free-and-easy=Bill (another boys' name). Proved: Cool=Bill. Cool=Fuck'. Paul and Bill are main figures who are highly engaged with boys' culture in that class. This graffiti delivers a message that boys have power to show public exposition of their sex. Sex is not only talked about also inscribed on the classroom. This demonstrates the classroom is where gender messages float and illustrates the idea of sex and gender plays a significant part of pupils' culture, in this case, especially for boys.

⁹⁸ This was found from observation in class. For example, when a History teacher in Azalea High School said that it was a choice between either keeping your hair or keeping your head (i.e. your life) when people were requested to shave their hair in Ch'ing dynasty. A boy shouted out that 'keep penis!', which made a few other male pupils laugh. Another day, the teacher asked a question about the most appropriate crop to be chosen by people at a particular period of time, another boy shouted out 'planting strawberries' (a common expression in Taiwan to imply producing a reddish mark by kissing) right away, then the whole class burst into laughter.

also some moments when teachers were forced to confront and react to boys' 'sex-jokes'. For example, a Biology teacher in Banyan High School pointed out that when she taught about sexual reproduction, male pupils were usually 'very high' and attempted to embarrass her by asking specific questions such as the structure of penis and erection on purpose. It can be suggested that through these behaviours, boys' were challenging the female teacher's authority and constructing their normative masculinity by assuming females' hesitancy to engage with sex-related issues. These boys' reactions such as being loud, disruptive and abusive can be seen as a style for the enactment of a particular heterosexual masculinity (Kehily, 2001). In this case, pupils' resistance against school authority brought 'reactionary' rather than 'revolutionary' effects (Walkerdine, 1990). However, according to the teacher, she reconfirmed her authority by answering those questions in strictly scientific ways. By doing this, the teacher interrupted boys' cultural agenda of consolidating their normative masculinity through embarrassing females in terms of the power and fun of doing sex-talk in the classroom.

Boys' performances of acting as clowns or having fun were intervened in by some teachers when these behaviours were considered to constitute sexual harassment. For example, a counselling teacher in Azalea High School disapproved the idea that some of boys' behaviours were understood as 'only jokes'. She took the example of the 'taking off others' trousers',⁹⁹ game among boys:

The excuse of having fun is used to hide the fact that it is actually sexual harassment (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

⁹⁹ This 'game' may become a bullying behaviour. Some boys who do not conform normative masculinity can be taken off trousers by other boys to see 'if he is a man or not'.

Therefore, some teachers pointed out that they would intervene to stop boys' behaviours that might constitute sexual harassment. It has been argued that young men's humorous performance could have oppressive effects on other pupils (Kehily and Nayak, 1997). Some teachers also pointed out that they would stop boys' behaviours, because they wanted to avoid other pupils being bullied.

This section has revealed that constructing boys as clown-like was a common idea for teachers in both schools. Although some teachers were not aware of or failed to prevent boys carrying out sex talks or games, some other teachers had started to challenge and reconstruct this construction of masculinity. This masculine performance of playing the clown was seen by these teachers to have the potential to embarrass female pupils, constitute sexual harassment, and lead to bullying among pupils.

6.2.3 Feminine boys

During the interviews with teachers about the requirement of the GEEA to respect different gender temperament, 'feminine boys' often first came to their minds. The research finds that teachers' understandings of 'feminine boys'¹⁰⁰ were based on its clear contrast to normative ideas of being boys. By replacing the previous term 'Niang Niang Qiang'¹⁰¹, 'Niang Pao'¹⁰² became a common expression to name those feminine boys among pupils in schools in Taiwan. Sometimes, 'Niang Pao' can also be referred to gay. Correspondingly, the adjectives

¹⁰⁰ That means boys with some characteristics in terms of appearance or behaviours which are generally categorised as feminine features.

¹⁰¹ Literally, it means a male with a female tone. As a metaphor, it is used to name males with feminine features whether in appearance or behaviours.

¹⁰² Niang is an adjective, which means feminine. Pao is a noun which means cannon literally. Here, the meaning of Pao is a metaphor of males' genital and therefore further represents as a man.

of 'Niang' and 'gay' sometimes can be interchangeable. This implies the interrelated construction between normative gender identities and heterosexuality.

According to teachers in Azalea High School, main features of feminine boys were related to their appearance and voice. 'Boys with delicate looks will be laughed at as "Niang"',¹⁰³ (A counselling teacher, Azalea High School). Teachers also indicated that other pupils often made fun of feminine boys. A History teacher illustrated an example that when a boy with a 'nice voice' was reading a poem with cadence in her class, other pupils were sniggering. Thus, the most significant construction of feminine boys was that they were usually vulnerable, as other pupils would carry out particular behaviours showing their disapproval of this alternative masculinity.

However, in Banyan High School, some teachers seemed to suggest that feminine boys were not discriminated against in their school. The Head of the Counselling Office pointed out that they had a boy with a very high pitch voice, but 'no one did anything bad to him'. An English teacher said she had met two boys being called 'sissy' by their classmates. 'One of them said he was fine with it, because he was who he was. Another boy denied it, but he still played with others', according to the English teacher. These examples show that feminine boys were not necessarily victims and they had abilities to cope with hostility from other pupils.

However, the Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Banyan High School gave an example that a boy shouted in class because he could not stand being made fun of anymore. The boy was considered as 'Niang' by other pupils because he was quiet, had less interaction with

¹⁰³ A counselling teacher in the Azalea High School pointed out some male teachers will also be name as 'Niang' by pupils.

classmates and most importantly, his clothes were always tidy (shirt tucked into trousers and always wore a tie), according to the Head of the Pupil Affairs Office. This example corresponds to Kehily's (2001) argument that homophobic abuse could incorporate an endless range of features such as clothes, posture, mannerisms, hobbies, tone of voice, patterns of friendship and attitudes to schoolwork. This example also shows that there were still boys suffering from discrimination towards their non-normative gender performances in Banyan High School. Although it seemed that some boys might cope well, discriminations from other pupils were evident. Although teachers seemed to be sympathetic to what feminine boys experienced in the school, they did not illustrate any strategies that they had tried to prevent discriminatory practices happening again.

However, different strategies adopted by two Physical Education (PE) teachers towards feminine boys in Banyan High School showed their distinct ideas of implementing gender equity education and creating equal subjects. One PE teacher said that the feminine boy in his class was happy to be assessed by the same standard as girls while another PE teacher insisted on the feminine boy in his class being assessed by the same standard as other boys. The former teacher seemed to be more flexible about assessing the boy's physical performance by respecting his tendency and identity.

However, the latter teacher said 'if he really decides to change his sex, it would be in the future. At present stage, you are unable to change your sex, so you can only accept what has been given to you by the god'. In other words, the boy's gender identity was denied by the teacher through highlighting the priority of biological sex for assessing pupils' performance in PE classes. The connection between sports and masculinity has been explored by some

studies (Connell et al, 1982; Hall, 2005). This example also illustrates that the teacher understood alternative masculinity as having a tendency to transgender.

Although the GEEA has requested that there should not be any different treatments for boys and girls, the PE courses seemed not to be affected at all. The double standards for boys and girls in PE course brought a debatable question that which standard should be applied to feminine boys in terms of improving gender equity. However, the cancellation of adopting gender as a factor to assess pupils' performance in PE courses may be a possible solution. The PE courses should encourage pupils to enjoy the pleasure of exercises but not reinforce the dichotomy that boys were supposed to be stronger than girls (see section 7.3.2). It has been argued that a more communicative, gender neutral or gender-transgressive way of encouraging young people to use their bodies should be the objective of PE course in improving gender equity (Paechter, 2006).

6.2.4 Bodily appearance

The 'bodily appearance' is usually considered a significant factor for girls to produce their gender identity while 'bodily performance' is more important for boys (Valentine, 2001b). However, the teachers in Banyan High School found an emerging masculine identity. They suggested that boys now paid more attention to their appearance than in the past.

In my previous impression, it was more like a girls' thing. Boys...no one did so. However, I find that things have changed. Boys now think they are handsome all the time (History teacher, Banyan High School).

This class teacher pointed out that she started to notice this issue because a boy became furious when she once tried to confiscate a boy's mirror¹⁰⁴. Then she began to observe and found that many boys did like to look at themselves in mirrors in classes. The findings from observation done in class confirmed the situation, as some boys used to put mirrors on their desks and kept checking themselves in mirrors during the lesson. Maintaining a stylish hairstyle was the most important thing for boys according to teachers. Although some teachers said that they were not used to boys paying greater attention to their appearance, they do not really feel the need to do something about it either.

This circumstance is termed by Mac an Ghaill (1994) as 'the feminization of male youth cultures'. It is pointed out by Mac an Ghaill (1994) that this emerging masculine identity against an older generation's surveillance and social regulation, especially for their fathers and male teachers. A group of boys of Pop Music Club was called in to the office and disciplined by the Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Banyan High School, because they kept their hair too long. The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office said pupils now considered people who play electronic music must wear long hair to the shoulder and shake it to be 'man'. However, he pointed out that he tried to persuade these boys not to wear such long hair, as they might seem to be 'Niang'. In doing this, the Head of the Pupil Affairs Office attempted to reconfirm a particular type of masculinity by policing boys' hair length to be short as proper 'men'. However, these boys were different from feminine boys discussed in last section, because wearing long hair for them represented their taste in fashion rather than resisting normative ideas of gender performances.

¹⁰⁴ This teacher pointed out that she felt a need to confiscate that boy's mirror, because they were having an exam. The teacher was concerned with the issue of cheating rather than the inappropriateness of a boy paying so much attention about his appearance by looking in the mirror constantly.

The constructions of masculine identities in Azalea and Banyan High School can be concluded as follows. In terms of being learners, active masculinity was favoured by teachers in both schools. This construction is found to be against with the objective of the GEEA, as teachers employed different pedagogical practices for boys and girls in the class. Some teachers had challenged the construction of boys being clowns in terms of preventing sexual harassment. As for the construction of feminine boys, teachers suggested that they were vulnerable. However, teachers did not adopt any active strategies to change the hostile culture for them.

6.3 Feminine identities

Reay (2001) defines femininity as ‘the process through which girls and women are gendered and become specific sorts of female (p153)’. She further suggests that there are different formations of femininity and they are best understood as being in process, constantly being made and remade in different times and places. Similar to the last section on masculine identities, diverse femininities were also understood and treated in different ways by teachers in Azalea and Banyan High Schools. Within those femininities, some were promoted while others were policed through teachers’ different practices. There were four different constructions of feminine identities suggested by teachers. First, girls were conceptualised as passive learners compared with boys. Second, hyper femininity in relation to exposure of the body was particularly policed by the school. Third, there was a tendency to construct a form of femininity which emphasised young women’s capability of pursuing successful careers in the future. Fourth, teachers were worried about the growing usage of bad language among girls. These constructions of identities are discussed in sequence next.

6.3.1 Passive learners

In both Azalea and Banyan High Schools, teachers suggested that girls were shy, polite and more likely to feel embarrassed in class especially when they were asked questions. This illustration did not match with the class observation. It was found that there were individual girls who expressed their ideas by raising their hands or speaking out the answers as loud as boys. However, teachers' attitude suggested that girls needed protection rather than challenge. It also explained the reason that why girls were deliberately given less chance to answer teachers' questions. Therefore, it was found that teachers were not keen on motivating girls in class, as they did not want to 'embarrass or frustrate' girls.

A History teacher in Azalea pointed out that she often picked boys for difficult questions, as 'girls blushed and did not know what to do. Then you became worried about her'. This suggested that teachers' teaching practices were affected by their perception of girls' reactions and their considerateness not to upset girls. However, this strategy brought an effect that girls were usually given simpler questions to answer. In other words, less was expected of girls and they were given fewer opportunities to develop their ability answering challenging questions. Passivity of girls was first assumed and then reconfirmed during the process. However, after acknowledging the possible effect through the interview, this History teacher later pointed out that it might be more helpful to build girls' confidence and motivate them to become more active in class if she gave girls more chances to engage with class discussion rather than avoiding it. It appears that teachers had the capability to adopt different teaching practices to improve gender equity if they were aware of what effects their actions might create.

As for another History teacher in Banyan High School, although she considered girls more 'polite' and 'shy', she paid particular attention to make sure girls were given sufficient time to answer questions. Her awareness came from reading the research about girls being given less attention and time than boys in class. Thus, bearing this idea in mind, she adjusted her teaching practices to give girls more time when she was waiting for their answers as a way of improving equality between boys and girls. However, the teacher still found it difficult:

I will do my best to wait for girls' answers. However, sometimes it was difficult as girls kept silent and others started to chat (History teacher, Banyan High School).

This quote suggests that teachers were under pressure, balancing the implementation of gender equity education and classroom management. In short, the ideas that girls are shy, easily embarrassed or humiliated were general reasons why teachers did not engage with girls in Azalea and Banyan High School. However, these teaching practices can maintain and reinforce this passivity of feminine identity, as girls were not given opportunities to develop their ability to become active learners. Also, although individual teachers made some efforts, schools' thorough support may help to speed up the agenda for promoting girls as active learners.

6.3.2 Feminine but not too feminine

Another important aspect of how schools constructed feminine identity was through regulation of pupils' dress and appearance. Both Azalea and Banyan High Schools had their own regulations. The issues which they addressed were similar, but the ways two schools regulated them were different. For Banyan High School, apart from requesting 'girls' skirts

shall not be shorter than where their knees are' (rule 2 of dress code, Banyan High School Regulations of Pupils' dress and appearance, 2007), other regulations which were stated clearly apply to both boys and girls such as for facial appearance: no make-up, tattoo or wearing any decoration (i.e. earrings) (rule 1 of appearance code, Banyan High School Regulations of Pupils' dress and appearance, 2007). However, in Azalea High School's regulations, no nail polish and no make up were stated in a way that they particularly applied for girls¹⁰⁵, and for boys the rule was no beards. It showed that the establishment of the regulations in Azalea High School was based on a different idea that boys and girls had different behaviours, such as boys did not wear make-up, so there was no need to regulate it. However, these kinds of regulations would become tricky if someday there were pupils who had different gender performances.

However, in both Azalea and Banyan High Schools' regulations, it can be concluded that girls were under more restrictions about their appearance than boys, as girls were requested to wear skirts as uniform in summer. Therefore, there was additional request for the length of girls' skirts in both schools' regulation¹⁰⁶ while the length of boys' trousers did not seem to be an issue. Although whether girls should be forced to wear skirts has raised some debates in Taiwan¹⁰⁷, in Azalea and Banyan High School, girls were still requested¹⁰⁸ to wear skirts as

¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that in the Azalea High School, girls are permitted to wear non- hanging earrings but no earrings for boys is requested.

¹⁰⁶ For the Azalea High School, girls' skirts should not be shorter than five centimetres above knees. For the Banyan High School, girls are asked to wear skirts not shorter than where their knees are.

¹⁰⁷ In September of 2008, an article appeared on United Daily News (One of the three influential news paper in Taiwan), wrote by a girl of Taipei First Girls' High School to ask for their right to wear trousers drew media's attention. Taiwan Gender Equity Education Association soon worked with a legislator to have a press conference, in October, as it also received a lot of complaints from pupils. The press conference suggested that it is against the objective of the GEEA, if schools enforce girls to wear skirts and give punishments for who did not follow the rule. Later, the GEEC in the Ministry of Education concluded on 17th October in 2008 that schools should respect diverse choices and eliminate gender stereotype, and pupils should not be punished for personal choice (Taiwan Gender Equity Education Association website; Gender Equity Education website, MOE).

¹⁰⁸ In Azalea and Banyan High School, girls are still requested to wear formal uniform (skirts) on a particular date for school investigation. However, in the rest of days in that month, they can choose to wear school uniform

summer uniform according to their school regulations. Therefore, it was evident that the requirement of wearing a particular type of uniform was a way for schools to police girls' gender identity through controlling what they wear in terms of reinforcing a particular female image. That was, girls had to show their proper femininity by wearing skirts with proper length and they also had to avoid behaviours considered as hyperfeminine such as wearing make-up and earrings.

The regulation of proper length of girls' skirts can be seen as a strategy to avoid 'unnecessary exposure of female body'. However, the research finds that schools' concern did not only apply to the uniform nor in the school space. When pupils went out for field trip, the issue of making sure pupils' were in appropriate dress was particularly applied to girls. It has been demonstrated that enforcement of dress code singularly focuses on covering female bodies (Hyams, 2000). As a result, teachers talked to some girls in advance for reminding them to dress properly.

Because we went to Kenting¹⁰⁹, the weather was hot there. So we began to worry about some particular pupils who would wear too little...We will ask her to dress properly. By wearing short trousers and T-shirt, you could be beautiful and hot¹¹⁰ too. But don't tell me that you are going to wear bikini then we cannot bear it (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Azalea High School).

This shows that the control of girls' appearance in terms of dress was not restricted to uniform and in the school space but can also be extended to any kind of dress and place where school power (teachers' surveillance) can reach.

or school sports wear (trousers for girls).

¹⁰⁹ A famous leisure spot in the south of Taiwan.

¹¹⁰ It means 'sexy'.

This section has argued that although the objective of the GEEA is to promote equality between boys and girls, it was evident that girls were still under more pressure in terms of dress and appearance code. Apart from this, it was evident that schools kept pursuing a particular feminine identity, and that girls needed to perform their femininity appropriately. This finding resonated with Valentine's (2001) argument to suggest that 'girls must manage their bodies to stay on the right side of the slippery boundary between being acceptably attractive without being overly sexualized (p146)'.

6.3.3 Girls' usage of bad language

Compared with the term 'Niang Pao' for calling boys who did not perform normative masculinity in pupil culture, teachers in Azalea and Banyan High Schools could not really think of a parallel word for girls with non-normative femininity. A Mathematics teacher in Banyan High School pointed out that it was because boys were more likely to be offenders as well as victims of language abuse.

Boys use bad language more often. Girls seem to be unlikely to talk in this way. Also boys do not use bad language to girls with non-normative femininity as they do to boys with non-normative masculinity (Mathematics teacher, Banyan High School).

The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Banyan High School pointed out that sometimes girls who performed non-normative femininity might be described as 'she is so man'¹¹¹. However, according to teachers, the social meaning of naming boys as 'Niang Pao' and describing girls as 'man' were different. Niang Pao was likely considered as a negative or discriminatory term

¹¹¹ The term, man, it is used as an adjective here, meaning manly. It is a colloquial expression used in Taiwan. It can be used to describe someone's behaviours or personalities. It is usually used in a positive way.

while the latter was considered as a positive term. However, the Head of Pupil Affairs Office pointed out that girls or women were verbally insulted through everyday use of bad language in pupil culture.

Nevertheless, the Head of the Pupil Affairs Office then indicated that they were worried about a growing number of girls using bad language now. This emerging behaviour of girls seemed to be a recent concern for teachers.

I cannot understand girls nowadays. They are different from girls we knew in the past. In the past, girls could only use bad language in private with their best friends. Now it is different. Girls do it directly in public (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Banyan High School).

With regards to this changing femininity, teachers did not understand why girls used more bad language than in the past nor know what to do.

For implementing gender equity education, in the past we told boys using bad language was not good, because you insulted other people's mother¹¹² (discrimination against women). Now girls use bad language too. It is difficult to say what the impact would be if we advise girls in the same way (The Head of the Pupils Affair Office, Banyan High School).

Kehily and Nayak (1997) point out that verbal abusing an opponents' mother is a way especially for young men to construct their heterosexual masculine identities. In this case, teachers started to wonder whether there might be a new culture of bad language to insult people' fathers, if girls realised that using bad language signified the acceptance of the hostility towards women within it. Although teachers seemed to be concerned with this

¹¹² 'Fuck your mother' is one of the common expressions used by Taiwanese people who swear.

changing femininity in terms of using bad language, they had not developed further understandings or strategies to deal with the issue.

However, it is interesting to note teachers' different attitudes to boys and girls' usage of bad language. Some teachers considered boys' usage of bad language as normal at this stage. Therefore, boys using bad language did not raise the same concern as girls did. However, girls were scrutinised more strictly for the same behaviour. Teachers' worry was based on a perception that girls were not supposed to do so. In this sense, this emerging femininity was implicitly discouraged, although no specific strategies had been carried out yet.

6.3.4 What men can do, women can do too

The Article 19 of the GEEA states that 'teachers shall encourage pupils to take courses in fields that are not traditionally affiliated with their gender'. In the supporting documents of the Draft 3 of the GEEA (Ministry of Education, 2004), it is highlighted that teachers shall not promote the idea of gender segregation to affect pupils' choice of departments at universities or their future career. With regards to this concern of the GEEA, some teachers in both Azalea and Banyan High Schools tried to shape a feminine identity that women can have excellent achievements in different areas. This construction of feminine identity was particularly emphasised in terms of enlightening young women's future career decision.

In Azalea High School, this was the key for the Head of Library to decide the topics of lectures for pupils and which speakers to invite. According to the Head of Library, bearing in mind that there were more male speakers invited in the past, she tried to invite more women

to balance the situation. Apart from this, the Head of Library also deliberately invited successful women in a variety of professional fields, for example, female athletes and scientists:

I want them to know that girls can do very well in some arenas which are generally considered as difficult for girls (The Head of the Library, Azalea High School).

The teachers' aim was to expand pupils' idea of what roles women can play and to reveal more possibilities for girls. This educational practice appeared to match with the objective of the GEEA for challenging gender stereotypes.

A Military Training Instructor (MTI) in Banyan High School also carried out her own strategies to challenge an idea that women were not suitable for joining the army or being police officers. She pointed out that sometimes there were chances for them to encourage pupils to apply for military or police academies. However, female pupils usually had negative reactions to this idea while male pupils were more interested in it.

Girls think that it is too exhausting or they would get sunburned or they have to carry a gun something like that. They are not interested in this choice especially in consideration of physical strength (MTI, Banyan High School).

In responding to these reactions, the MTI tried to encourage girls through sharing her own experiences and highlighted that women can also achieve what were required during the training process. It is evident from the above discussion that in terms of constructing women as capable in different arena, some teachers in Azalea and Banyan High School shared a similar idea. It might just be a coincidence. However, the research finds that female teachers

were keener on delivering this message into their educational practices than male teachers.

6.4 Sexuality: heterosexual and gay and lesbian identities

When teachers were asked about what issues they had addressed in terms of implementing gender equity education, the management of intimate heterosexual relationships among pupils was often the first topic to be raised. Some teachers also talked about a phenomenon that the gender boundary was blurred as boys and girls had more physical contact even if they were just friends. Although teachers were aware of the GEEA requiring the creation of equal subjects with different sexualities, very few teachers addressed non-heterosexual (e.g. gay and lesbian or bisexual) relationships. Rather, they predominantly focused on heterosexual relationships among pupils. Therefore, through revealing how teachers dealt with the issues of heterosexual relationship and gay and lesbian identities, this section aims at exploring how schools police boys' and girls' sexual identities.

6.4.1 Heterosexual intimate relationships

Contradictory attitudes towards pupils developing intimate relationships in high schools were suggested by teachers in Azalea as well as Banyan High Schools. On the one hand, some teachers thought it was understandable:

Actually in high schools...at this age, it is **normal** to be attracted to **the opposite sex** (Military Training instructor, Azalea High School, emphasis added).

Intimate relationship **between boys and girls** seems to be **natural** (Mathematic teacher in Banyan High school, emphasis added)

These quotes suggest that teachers' tolerant attitudes to pupils developing intimate relationship were closely related to the way that heterosexuality was conceptualised as ubiquitous, normal, and natural. The ubiquity of heterosexuality reflected an assumption that men will inevitably be attracted to women and vice versa (Kehily, 2001). Rich (1980) refers to this as 'compulsory heterosexuality', which marginalises other relationships such as same-sex relationships.

However, on the other hand, there were also some teachers who tried to persuade pupils that it would be better to wait until they get to universities.

We do not prohibit it but we do not encourage it either. We don't ban it, because we know we cannot. We don't encourage it, because we are worried about subsequent side effects (Biology teacher, Banyan High School).

This quote illustrated clearly the ambivalent attitude of teachers towards intimate relationships between pupils. Teachers were also worried about negative effects brought by pupils' intimate relationships on their school's reputation. In this case, how to police pupils' behaviours within the acceptable boundary for developing intimate relationships became a key issue for schools.

The research findings from interviews show that the most significant strategy adopted by teachers in both schools for maintaining the appropriate boundary in terms of developing intimate relationship was to discipline pupils' public displays of affection. Nevertheless, ideas of inappropriate behaviours varied among teachers. The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Banyan High School pointed out that he would tackle any forms of physical contact between

boys and girls. However, other interviewed teachers in two schools considered pupils holding hands was acceptable, but they would intervene to stop behaviours further than that such as putting hands on each other's waists (or even shoulders), embracing, kissing, stroking hair, sitting on laps. Rather than adopting an authoritarian role, the teachers tended to adopt a less strict attitude.

If I saw it, I would say 'come on, it is not okay in **public space**. Keep some distance. People without girlfriends would be upset'. I would stop them behaving like that through this kind of humorous way (Geography teacher, Banyan High School, emphasis added).

However, this less authoritative way did not decrease teachers' determination to discipline pupils' public displays of affection. The research finds that teachers' actions to police pupils' public displays of affection were attributed to the discourse that the school was a 'public space'. Therefore, other people might feel uncomfortable about those intimate behaviours. Nevertheless, the surveillance of public displays of affection did not mean that intimate behaviours were allowed 'in private'. In fact, Banyan High School also adopted some strategies to avoid pupils behaving intimately in private after school. Pupils who stayed for self-learning hours were congregated in particular classrooms. The electricity supply to other classrooms was cut off. Teachers on duty also patrolled the school and paid extra attention to some private corners or toilets for preventing pupils carrying out intimate behaviours. The quote below suggests teachers' fear of young people's sexuality.

Young people nowadays really...those behaviours (intimate behaviours) seem to be direct and fearless (Military Training Instructor, Banyan High School).

Therefore, it shows that the school's control of pupils' intimate relationship was intended to

make physical contact less possible. It was suggested by teachers in both schools that pupils 'having sex' was what they were actually worried about. Therefore, behaviours beyond holding hands draw teachers' attention because more intimate physical contact suggested a greater likelihood that pupils would develop sexual relationships in the future, which was exactly what teachers did not want to confront at this stage.

Schools' control of pupils' intimate relationships was against the aim of the GEEA to create equal subjects in the sense that girls were under more pressure than boys to maintain the appropriate intimate relationship: not to develop sexual relationships. The research demonstrates that girls were constructed as vulnerable and would be affected to a greater extent than boys would. A Biology teacher in Banyan High School pointed out that she had told pupils in class that:

Once you have a sexual relationship, girls are more likely to take it rather seriously. Thus, there are more impacts on them (Biology teacher, Banyan High School).

This teacher also had called for a special meeting for girls only during the school field trip to highlight the importance of 'self-protection' by not developing sexual relationships in high schools. The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Banyan High School also pointed out that he had told girls the importance of protecting themselves and avoiding the loss of a new life¹¹³. These educational practices illustrated that girls were positioned in a 'spatiality of protection' (Hyams, 2000). Also, teachers emphasised the risk of becoming pregnant for girls. This further served to regulate female sexuality. In both schools, most teachers had a strong tendency to construct girls as powerless especially in the sexual relationship, although a few

¹¹³ This quote appeared to assume that there was an inevitable causal relationship starting from having sex, then getting pregnant and having an abortion in the end.

teachers presented different stories¹¹⁴.

Rule 13 of the ERGEEA (The Enforcement Regulations of the Gender Equity Education Act, 2005) states that the curriculum related to gender equity education shall cover courses on relationships and sex education. However, one of schools' important strategies to carry out affective education (i.e. how to deal with the issue of intimate relationship) was to avoid pupils developing sexual relationships. Teachers were worried that it might affect pupils' academic performance or even their future life if pupils got pregnant. As high school pupils had passed the age of consent (sixteen in Taiwan), they ought to have the right to decide whether they would like to develop sexual relationships or not. However, pupils' understanding of this issue was clearly restrained by schools. In terms of girls being given more responsibility and pressure to protect themselves from developing sexual relationships, this was against the idea of gender equity. Moreover, the fact that developing sexual relationships was discouraged meant schools had no way to help pupils if inequity developed in sexual relationships.

6.4.2 Heterosexualised friendships

Teachers' concern and control of proper interaction between boys and girls were not only contained within intimate relationships. The research findings suggest that teachers were also attentive to physical contact between boys and girls as friends. This suggested that teachers tended to heterosexualise friendships between people of the opposite sex, because the

¹¹⁴ A Counselling teacher in Azalea High School pointed out that girls' attitudes to sexual relationships had changed. She pointed out that five or six years ago, girls did not know how to say no when they actually did not want to develop a sexual relationship with their boyfriends. However, nowadays, girls seem to take more control about whether they would like to be involved in a sexual relationship.

heterosexual presumption was exercised. Some teachers in both schools were concerned that the gender boundary was blurred, as boys and girls had more physical contact than in the past. The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Azalea High School expressed his attitude to seeing a girl resting her head on a boy's lap:

We all see these situations sometimes. So we are concerned and worried about “what’s wrong with the gender boundary nowadays” why do young people think it doesn’t matter? For people of our age, ten or ten-something years older than you, we feel it awkward but why do they think it is okay? (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Azalea High School).

Some teachers were also concerned with these physical contacts, because it might constitute sexual harassments:

We have delivered the messages that because of playing or touching, for example, boys might touch girls’ breast or bottom accidentally (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Azalea High School).

The Head of the Pupil Affairs in Azalea High School also pointed out that if he saw boys and girls putting hands on each other’s shoulders or grabbing each other, he would intervene:

I would go to them, saying ‘what are you doing?’, I would ask the girl whether she was being bullied by the boy. ‘If you are bullied, come to report to me’ (The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office, Azalea High School).

The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office in Banyan High School also highlighted this issue by urging girls to enhance their self-protection awareness and asking boys to respect girls’ autonomy of their bodies but not vice versa. This shows that when schools tried to police

physical interaction between boys and girls, boys were usually regarded as offenders while girls were considered as victims. In other words, schools' different attitudes and reactions to pupils of different genders were evident in terms of controlling intimate relationships and friendships between boys and girls.

Although girls were constructed by both schools as vulnerable and more likely to be victims of sexual harassment, the research found that girls were expected to be independent when the incident really happened. The Head of the Academic Affairs Office in Azalea High School pointed out that a girl once reported being sexually harassed as someone put their hands on her bottom in school. The girl could not identify a specific offender because it was crowded and many people were around. The Head of the Academic Affairs Office said that all they could do at that time was to comfort that girl and suggested she could work with boys in her class try to set up a trap and catch the offender if she wanted. The incident then ended up with nothing conclusive. This example illustrates that although school teachers seemed to be concerned that the lack of gender boundary may result in sexual harassment, they did not adopt the active or helpful role to tackle the issue when they were needed (e.g. being supportive to the victim and addressing the issue in school assembly or asking teachers to raise the issue of sexual harassment).

This section has illustrated the ways that schools controlled physical contact between boys and girls constructed as friends. The conception of boys being offenders in terms of sexual harassment and girls being victims was reinforced within schools' discourses for reconstructing the gender boundary by reducing physical contact between boys and girls. Therefore, schools' strategies to police pupils' behaviours did not really improve gender

equity and create equal subjects, as they were based on different attitudes and reactions towards pupils of different genders.

6.4.3 Gay and lesbian identities

It has been demonstrated that acknowledging gay and lesbian identities in schools can draw attention to the issue of sexuality in school and is helpful to explore the heterosexist structure of school relation (Kehily, 2001). It has been discussed in Chapter 4 that the GEEA not only requests that people should not be discriminated against based on their gender but also their sexuality. The dualistic conception of heterosexuality versus homosexuality was so strong that teachers in both Azalea and Banyan High Schools equated the issue of non-heterosexual identity with the issue of gay and lesbian identity. However, the research finds that both Azalea and Banyan High Schools paid less attention to gay and lesbian identities which had never been a major theme for schools to hold relevant activities (i.e. lectures) or as a key element of any teaching practices. Nevertheless, the attitudes and reactions of teachers in Azalea and Banyan High Schools were different in terms of how they understood the issue and how many efforts they had made by individual teachers. Teachers in Banyan were suggested to be more tolerant and open minded than teachers in Azalea in terms of integrating the issue of gay and lesbian identities as a way to implement gender equity education.

In Azalea High School, some teachers pointed out that they did not pay specific attention to the issue of gay and lesbian identities, because they did not have many gay and lesbian pupils. Also, some other teachers considered that it might not be the proper timing to discuss this issue.

I think it is about **demographic composition** of each school...so it is not a key issue for our school as we have **very very very few gay and lesbian pupils** (The Head of the Counselling Office, Azalea High School, emphasis added).

Even for a psychiatrist, when he/she would like to confirm if someone is gay or lesbian, he/she might also want to wait for the person **getting older enough**, for example, **after eighteen years old** (The Head of the Library, Azalea High School, emphasis added).

These ideas were problematic in different ways. First, it was impossible for teachers to know how many gay and lesbian pupils they had unless they carried out a formal investigation, which they did not. Therefore, the claim of only having a small number of gay and lesbian pupils was suggested to be a heterosexual presumption. Second, the issue of gay and lesbian identities was considered only relevant to pupils who self-identified as gay men or lesbians. However, in order to achieve the objective of the GEEA to eliminate discriminatory practices towards people with different sexualities, people with heterosexual identity might be the ones who needed to acknowledge other forms of sexual identities and therefore to engage with the issue of gay and lesbian identities. Third, it shows that being gay and lesbian were still conceptualised as medical/psychic issue and needed to be confirmed by a psychiatrist or after certain age. Also, it related to a notion that homosexuality is just a 'phase' or temporary confusion, and young people would grow of it in due course (Kehily, 2002). The finding suggests that heterosexual presumption and heterosexism were prevailing in Azalea High School.

These understandings further affected teachers' practices of engaging with the issues in relation to gay and lesbian identities. Most teachers in Azalea High School pointed out that they would encourage pupils to 'respect' each other, but they would not be keen on approaching the issue of gay or lesbian identities. This reactive attitude can also be explored

explicitly from how the school reacted with pupils developing gay and lesbian relationships.

It is a neglected territory...for pupils developing same sex relationships, if their behaviours go too far, instead of being picked up, teachers are more tolerant to them (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

However, teachers held a tolerant attitude to 'possible' gay and lesbian pupils was not because they supported these non-heterosexual identities. The fact was that teachers could not tell whether these pupils were 'really' gays (or lesbians) or they were just very close friends from their behaviours. Nevertheless, even though teachers might know that particular pupils were gays or lesbians, they would not intervene either:

Because boys grab or hug each other or girls do so, we would usually leave it (Counselling teacher, Azalea High School).

This shows that teachers tended to explain behaviours between pupils in same sex in heterosexual perspective. It has been suggested before that teachers tended to 'heterosexualise' friendship between boys and girls for regulating their physical contacts in public. In contrast, they tended to 'desexualise' relationship between pupils of the same sex. This attitude might relate to the idea that same-sex conduct was normally 'innocent'. It was ironic that the control of gay and lesbian couples was less strict than heterosexual couples in this respect because their relationships were not formally recognised by teachers. Kehily (2001) argues that in the assumed dominance of a heterosexual order societies places heterosexual relationships at the centre and thereby indicates that all other forms of sexual relationship remain 'deviant' and abnormal'. However, in above example, gay and lesbian pupils were not given negative labelling, because they were completely overlooked and

denied.

However, this attitude also brought a negative effect. That was, gay and lesbian pupils lacked official support, as they were not recognised officially. In short, the relative lack of attention paid to create equal subjects with different sexualities in Azalea High School was not due to the small number of gay and lesbian pupils but because teachers' ignorance of their existence and the presumption of the ubiquity of heterosexuality.

However in Banyan High School, the research finds that teachers had a more proactive attitude and reaction to gay and lesbian identities. The Head of the Academic Affairs Office indicated that the biggest achievement for them to implement gender equity education had been 'more gay and lesbian pupils can express themselves in our school'. The Head of the Academic Affairs Office also mentioned that in the past teachers may have felt frightened by or gossiped about pupils' sexualities, but now most teachers seemed to accept it and without much gossip in private. Nevertheless most of the teachers considered that gay and lesbian identities were attributed to genetic differences. Apart from performing different sexual identities, they were regarded as the same as other heterosexual pupils. In this case, teachers pointed out that they adopted the same standard towards gay and lesbian pupils:

We would not mark gay and lesbian pupils. For example, if a girl says my friend or my boyfriend, **we know in fact her boyfriend is actually a girl; we would not be bothered** (The Head of the Counselling Office, Banyan High School, emphasis added).

For teachers in Banyan High School, their awareness and support of gay and lesbian pupils can also be explored in terms of different practices carried out by individual teachers. A

History teacher pointed out that the issue of gay and lesbian was one of the themes that she would try to integrate into her teaching. For example, she would mention about the issue when she talked about Greek literature by introducing a more tolerant attitude to sexual behaviours between males in some period of ancient Greece. Another example came from a Geography teacher. She said that she once grasped a chance¹¹⁵ in class to reveal her positive attitude to gay and lesbian people by expressing her willingness to be invited to a gay wedding in the future, if any of her pupils were gay men or lesbians. Although some pupils challenged her claim at that time by asking whether she would mind her own son being gay, she retained a positive attitude. The class teacher was sure that there must be some effects on changing pupils' perception about respecting people with other sexualities than heterosexuality.

In terms of creating equal subjects with different sexualities, the research finds that teachers in Banyan High School held a more proactive attitude to gay and lesbian identities. Also, more practices were integrated into teachers' teaching. However, for Azalea High School, most of efforts were made in a heterosexual perspective of implementing the GEEA. Therefore, the issue of creating equal subjects with different sexualities were deliberately overlooked. This neglect was attributed to the lack of teachers' recognition of gay and lesbian pupils and lack of motivation to further provide assistance to them. This attitude was contradictory to the Article 14 of the GEEA (2004), as it states that 'the school shall affirmatively provide assistance to pupils who are disadvantaged due to their gender or sexual orientation in order to improve their situation.' The relative lack of attention paid to gay and lesbian pupils was also justified by teachers saying they constituted a rather small part of pupil population. It would be difficult to achieve equity among people with different

¹¹⁵ Some boys were teasing another boy being Niang during the class.

sexualities if sexual minorities were only supposed to be given minor attention because they were minorities.

6.5 Conclusion

The research findings have shown that it is difficult to conclude whether teachers in Azalea or Banyan High Schools had implemented the GEEA more fully than the other. The discussion has revealed that teachers in the same school did not necessarily share the same ideas and attitudes to a particular type of the gender and sexual identities. Rather, individual teachers' conceptions and practices played a more important role during the process. However, in a broader view, the subjects that Azalea and Banyan High Schools produced were very similar in terms of normalising and policing particular forms of masculinities, femininities, and sexual identities.

However, there were also some particular forms of gender identities or behaviours addressed independently by only one of the schools. The concern of performance of hyperfemininity was a particular concern for teachers in Azalea High School. For Banyan High School, teachers were worried about boys' interest in their own appearance and girls' increasing use of bad language. Apart from this, teachers' attitudes to gay and lesbian subjects were significantly different between Azalea and Banyan High Schools. The teaching practices of teachers in Banyan High School appeared to be more supportive to create equity among people with different sexualities while teachers in Azalea High School focused largely on practices for promoting equity between people of different genders.

Through exploring teachers' practices of implementing the GEEA in two schools in terms of recognising diverse gender and sexual identities, it can be concluded that correspondent as well as contradictory agendas to the objective of the GEEA were simultaneously carried out in both schools. Some teachers' practices achieved the requirement of the GEEA to respect different gender temperaments, in terms of alternative masculinity, such as being feminine boys. However, there were also some teachers' practices which reinforced the idea of boys being active and girls being passive in class. In short, teachers' attitudes and practices towards being tolerant to feminine boys, challenging the idea of boys being clowns, highlighting women's capabilities, and acknowledging gay and lesbian pupils can be considered as improving gender equity and enabling equal subjects. However, teachers' other attempts to normalise other forms of gender identities and police heterosexual relationships, ignoring gay and lesbian relationships, were clearly against the objective of the GEEA, as different expectations and treatments were still evident for subjects with different gender or sexual identities.

Chapter Seven: Shaping young women's understandings of gender and sexual identities: young women's experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures

7.1 Introduction

Following the last Chapter, which has explored how teachers constructed and reproduced gender and sexual subjects in the context of implementing the GEEA, this Chapter highlights young people's perspectives under the GEEA. Specifically, this Chapter explores young women's understandings of gender and sexual identities within the context of both their peer culture and the teaching practices which they experienced. The following discussion is divided into five sections. The first section explores what young people had been taught about gender equity education in the formal curriculum. The subsequent sections then focus on how gender and sexual identities were constructed in the informal curriculum through discussion of issues of masculinity, femininity, heterosexual relationships and sexual Otherness followed by the conclusion.

7.2 Formal curriculum: a lack of gender equity education

According to interviews with young women in Azalea and Banyan High School, they appeared unfamiliar with the Gender Equity Education Act (2004). None of them suggested that they had heard of this particular legislation before. However, most young women were able to name other gender relevant legislation in Taiwan, such as the Gender Equality in Employment Act (2002), the Domestic Violence Prevention Act (1998), the Sexual Assault

Prevention Act (1997) and the Sexual Harassment Prevention Act (2005), as these laws were specifically addressed in the textbooks of Civic Education. The importance of the formal curriculum to shape students' identity and understanding of wider society has been demonstrated by some studies (Mitchell, 2003; Morgan, 2004; Pykett, 2009). In terms of the terminology young women used during the interviews, 'gender equity' was adopted by some of them. However, some other girls used the term 'two sexes equity or equity between men and women' instead. The difference in terminology suggests that their understanding of the notion of equity was limited to the idea in relation to 'gender', although the GEEA also emphasises equity between people with different sexualities.

For responding to what gender equity education they had experienced in the school, three subjects in formal curriculum were particularly referred to by young women: Health and Nursing, Civic Education and Counselling. In this case, it is evident that implementation of the GEEA was extremely restricted in the formal curriculum, as only three of twenty compulsory subjects for high school education were perceived by young women as integrating the issue of gender equity education. In fact, the GEEA requires that gender equity education shall be integrated into all curricula in high schools (Article 17). This highlights an enormous gap between legislation and practices.

With regard to what they had learnt in these three subjects where gender equity education was perceived to occur, young women mentioned topics such as gender relevant legislation in Civic Education, the management of relationship in Counselling, and sex education in Health and Nursing. Nevertheless, young women in both schools pointed out that the gender equity education they received in formal curriculum did not really help:

YC: What do you think about what have you learnt from the Health and Nursing classes?

B11: It's **boring**.

B13: The **propaganda** is widespread nowadays.

B12: **it's so propaganda**.

YC: Is there any other issues that you would like to know more or any ideas to make the classes more interesting for you?

B11: It's our way of teaching and learning, **very boring and no one really cares about what the teacher says**.

B12: The teacher just reads the textbooks and talks a bit.

B11: The teacher literally just reads the textbooks. I can do that too!

B13: I think the idea of gender equity is widespread. People would not have **very serious discriminations**. (Banyan High School, emphasis added)

B15: Civic Education in first year, issue like gender relation.

B14: Including equity between men and women and you have to respect people with different sexual orientations.

B15: **In fact, what we were told was plain. Nearly nothing was told really.**

B14: **Only something supposed to be in the textbooks.**

B15: Basically, there were not like exercises in classes or further elaboration at all. Teachers would not address this issue deliberately.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

A4: What the school teaches us **is not helpful** for me, **because they are what I have already known**.

A5: Moreover, you cannot

A4: And it cannot change me.

A5: **It's not like the school says that you have to respect gay people then you become able to tolerate them. Although the school says so and you know it is right to do so, it is still difficult to control what you think in your mind.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

These above quotes from young women in both schools suggest that the gender equity education which pupils received in the formal curriculum was restricted and lacked influence due to poor teaching skills and insufficient depth of teaching materials. By borrowing Thomas's (2008) concept of 'banal multiculturalism'¹¹⁶, the research findings suggest that the

¹¹⁶ The term, 'banal multiculturalism' is used by the Thomas (2008) to indicate that US high schools' fail to

limited number of subjects engaged and teachers' reluctance to critically discuss gender equity issues limited schools' implementation of the GEEA.

It is also important to note that the gender equity education which young people were given from the school was heteronormative. Sex education in Health and Nursing classes was taught on the basis of equating sex with heterosexual intercourse and penetration. Although the issue of gay and lesbian identities was also addressed in Health and Nursing classes, only the 'causes' of being gay or lesbian and a request for tolerance (without further elaborations of gay relationship or culture) were included according to young women interviewed in both schools. This suggests that gay and lesbian identities were still regarded as problematic in Taiwanese sex education, as they were the sexual identities whose existence needed to be explained. In contrast, heterosexuality was assumed as a monolithic concept, although this idea has been challenged in the Western literature (Hubbard, 2000, 2008).

Apart from this, some young women in both schools pointed out the insufficiency of teaching practices in terms of improving their understandings of different sexualities. One group of girls in Azalea High School argued that the claim to respect gay and lesbian people in textbooks was just an abstract idea to them. Another group of girls in Banyan High School shared the same viewpoint:

B11: I think that teachers **do not know how to discuss the issue themselves** ...in textbooks, for example, we have to treat gay and lesbian people peacefully, blah blah blah. I can teach that too.

B12: It seems that it is the only thing they can say.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

approach difficult issues of ongoing social, racial and economic inequality and privilege through curricula or extracurricular programmes. Thomas (2008) argues that the approach of banal multiculturalism has limited impact on achieving diversity and equality.

Apart from the insufficient content in the textbooks, young women also pointed out teachers' tendency to avoid discussing the issue in class:

A2: Teachers have discussed the issue of gay and lesbian identity but what they said was **superficial. They would not go any further. I feel like that teachers are afraid of talking about this issue.**

YC: Why you think teachers are afraid of talking about the issue?

A2: It seems that **teachers themselves do not know any better.** The teacher of Civic Education is the same. She would say that you would discuss about the issue in Health and Nursing classes. So I would leave it for now.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

The quote suggests that the issue of sexual identity addressed in the GEEA was particularly neglected in the formal curriculum through teachers' pedagogical practices.

According the above discussion, what pupils learned about gender equity education in formal curriculum was limited whether in terms of only a small number of subjects actually addressing the issue or the unsatisfactory effectiveness and depth of teaching practices in those subjects. The lack of gender equity education in formal curriculum in schools left informal curriculum as the most important arena for young people to construct their gender and sexual identities. The next section explores how young women developed their ideas about masculine identities from peer cultures and teachers' educational practices.

7.3 Informal curriculum: what boys are like (or should be like)?

This section focuses on the informal curriculum, explaining constructions of masculine identities in terms of peer cultures and teaching practices. The analysis is based on young

women's interpretations. In other words, the following discussion is about how girls saw boys. Because Azalea and Banyan High Schools were both co-educational settings, male classmates in the same class were often referred to by young women to illustrate their ideas about what boys were like (or should be like).

Three different characteristics of normative masculinity were seen to be dominant among young women, with boys being seen as funny and noisy, having better physical strength, and being interested in women as sexual objects. Young women also pointed out alternative masculinities which were performed by a few boys identified as 'Other'. With regard to these four different masculine identities, the female pupils in Azalea and Banyan High School had similar opinions about the first two constructions: funny and noisy, and physically strong. However, young women in Azalea High School particularly highlighted the third masculine identity about the idea of boys as 'sex-mad' while young women in Banyan High School provided more elaboration about the alternative masculinities.

7.3.1 Funny, noisy and immature

According to their experience of studying in co-educational environments, young women in both schools concluded that boys were funny, lively and 'high' (happy, entertaining and energetic). In this sense, the idea of only having girls in the classroom was considered as boring without boys messing around with jokes¹¹⁷. However, girls also complained about boys being noisy or annoying when they chose the wrong time to talk or did not know when to stop playing around. In terms of boys' being noisy in class, there was a particular feature

¹¹⁷ Two girls in the Banyan High School pointed out that they could also enrol in a girls' high school according to their exam results but they preferred co-educational schools. One girl in the Azalea High School also suggested that some gestures were funny if they were done by boys such as some dancing steps.

pointed out by young women in both schools. That was, when male pupils were messing around or making jokes in class, they always stuck together as a big group, responding to each other's behaviours.

This finding coincides with the result of the researcher's class observation in two schools. The research finds that if a boy started to say something funny, then other boys would join in the conversation immediately, boosting the situation. Whether comments from other boys were agreements or disagreements (e.g. mostly teasing), it appeared that they were considered as a part of the play and actually supported by actions among other boys. This tendency for boys to act as a big group was not solely confined to the classroom but also continued to constitute a part of peer culture among boys¹¹⁸ in other spaces within the schools. It has been demonstrated that laughter and male pupils' use of humour is 'an antidote to schooling' as well as an important component of constructing their masculinity (Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Woods, 1976).

There were the moments when male pupils were also considered immature by young women for two reasons. First, boys were regarded as being poor at self-control. Second, they were perceived as childish as they often answered back (or swore back) or took it personally¹¹⁹ when girls told them to 'be quiet(er)'. In this case, young women sometimes found it difficult to make a decision about whether they should confront boys or rather say nothing:

¹¹⁸ Some boys who were excluded from the mainstream group will be discussed later sections. They were excluded because they did not conform to normative ideas of masculinity.

¹¹⁹ A girl in the Banyan High School said that she once told a group of boys to be quiet; however one of the boys took it personally. Therefore, in PE courses, that boy would help picking up basketballs for any other girls expect her. After this, the girl said that she just ignored what boys did and would not be bothered to confront them again.

B9: When boys are too noisy, you would think **‘Let it be. It does not matter today. Forget it’**. Wait until one day when you cannot bear it, you would like to shout, **‘what are you so noisy for?’**.

B7: No, it is only her (means B8).

B9: Me too, although I would not shout it out, **I get angry**.

B8: I had a row with H (a boy) before and I don’t want to talk to him again.

B7: She (means B8) asked them to lower down their voices.

B9: She (means B8) asked people sitting in the back to be quiet. Then H said ‘why you always pick on me’

B8: **The most immature part of boys is to feel that you pick on them**. I think their brains are really...

B9: **It’s all them being noisy but they still think they did nothing wrong**.

B7: They make noise even when it is supposed to be quite and therefore make people **feel annoyed**. However, they would not stop it but keeping noisy without self-awareness. Really don’t know why boys can talk so much. They might be mutes in their last life.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

It has been argued that women choose being tolerant rather than confronting to oppressive situations indicating their marginal status (Jones, 1993). These conflicts also suggested the limited impacts of young women’s resistance to boys’ disturbing behaviours in class. Therefore, it created segregation between boys and girls and reinforced the idea of girls’ passive learning (Renold, 2005).

The absence of teachers’ voices and actions for stopping boys’ disturbing behaviour was another important issue to be noted, as they were missing in most of female pupils’ narratives in both schools. Some young women suggested that teachers failed to intervene in boys’ behaviours. This demonstrates that teachers did not play an effective role in managing the situation and making the learning environment friendly for girls. Girls were in effect left on their own to confront boys interrupting behaviours in class. For improving gender equity in the school, the GEEA requests that teachers shall develop ‘gender equity consciousness’

(Article 19) when engaging with educational activities. ‘Gender equity consciousness’ means one’s acknowledgement of the value of gender equity, understanding of the phenomena and causes of gender inequity and willingness to improve the situation (Rule 8, ERGEEA). However, from the previous discussion and quotes, the lack of teachers’ motivation and ability to tackle the learning process being interrupted by boys’ behaviours proved that the Act was not effectively implemented at the practical level.

In brief, the fact that boys were funny, lively and ‘high’ had two-sided effects on young people’s conceptualisations of masculinity in both schools. On the one hand, having boys around in class appeared to make the learning process more interesting for the girls because of jokes and laughter. On the other hand, it sometimes made learning difficult because of continuous interruptions made by boys. During the process of constructing this masculine identity, the normative ideas of active boys versus passive girls were reproduced and reinforced, because of girls’ unsuccessful attempts to curb boys’ excessive behaviours and the absence of teachers’ action. As a result, boys dominated the class while girls were silenced. In this case, not only the aim of the Act to create more diverse gender identity was missed but also girls’ right to equal learning was affected.

7.3.2 Better physical strength: born to labour

The majority of young women interviewed in Azalea and Banyan High Schools also shared another corresponding construction of masculinity: boys had better physical strength than girls. The materiality or physicality of the body has been argued to play an important part of producing gender identities (Connell, 1995; Guillaumin, 1993). Young participants attributed this dominant masculine identity to assumed ‘natural’ physical difference between men and

women, and boys' having great interests in doing sports¹²⁰. The perception of boys having better physical strengths was also one of the notable reasons that girls preferred studying in co-educational settings, because boys can do the manual work¹²¹ required in Taiwanese schools.

This understanding of boys being naturally strong was illustrated by young women in two ways. First, boys were expected to do most of the manual work whether or not this required more physical strength¹²² such as carrying heavy things when requested by teachers or staff (e.g. delivering books, moving things etc) or being responsible for difficult cleaning jobs¹²³. Second, double standards¹²⁴ set for boys and girls in PE courses were regarded as necessary and gender-fair. This shows women's tendency to underestimate their physical ability in doing sports (Young, 1990)

Many studies have highlighted the significance of sports, aggressive leisure activities and physical violence to construct masculine identities in schools (Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Renold, 2005; Valentine, 2001b). The research findings suggest the close connection between manual labour and masculinity, which is attributed to cultural specificity in Taiwanese educational environments. Most of young women did not feel anything wrong

¹²⁰ Some girls in Banyan High School suggested that they loved sports as well. However, they did not usually go to do sports during very short break times like boys did. In this context, boys were considered to have 'greater' interest in doing sports than girls.

¹²¹ In Taiwanese schools, there was a fixed period of time around twenty minutes everyday that pupils were requested to do the cleaning tasks (see Chapter 3). A class of pupils usually were responsible for cleanness of their own classroom but also some other areas in the school.

¹²² In fact, some of the daily work in the school did not actually require huge amount of physical strength such as cleaning the blackboard or taking out the rubbish. However, boys were still assigned more manual labour than girls.

¹²³ The definition of more difficult cleaning tasks may vary according to individual teachers. However, those tasks may include jobs such as collecting water for cleaning (the bucket could be heavy), wiping the windows (if the windows are high), or responsible for areas outside the classroom.

¹²⁴ Young women illustrated some examples in their PE courses. For instance, for assessing students' physical strength, boys would be asked to run 1,600 meters while girls would only need to run 800 meters. Also, for doing the exercise of vaulting box, boys would be asked to jump over higher boxes.

that boys should did more manual work than girls in the school. Female pupils pointed out that they would not complain about it and actually enjoyed the benefits of being more passive in this regard¹²⁵. However, one girl in Azalea and three girls in Banyan High School actually pointed out that they would not mind doing tasks usually assigned to boys, because they were also capable of doing them. Thus, these girls' illustrations suggested that in fact girls and boys were both capable to carry out those tasks in the school. The delegation of labour work did not really relate to the essence of tasks, but was primarily based on the gendered ideal that boys were strong while girls were weak.

As being responsible for manual work was part of masculine identity, it is interesting to note that some boys were actually considered by young women as less manly and lazy because they did not perform as expected. Often these boys were excluded from the mainstream peer group of boys and also were identified to perform alternative masculinities (see section 7.3.4) or be categorised as 'girl-like':

YC: What about P and T (two boys)?

B13: I think they are a bit... they do not like doing manual work. **They are too lazy. I think boys are supposed to...for example, help doing things**, but they always just hang on there...**Too lazy**. They should have responsibility. **As least they are boys too.** (Banyan High School, emphasis added)

YC: Why did you say that two boys are girl-like?

B19: **Because they don't play sports like other boys do and they don't play computer games.**

B16: **They would not carry luggage for girls.**

B19: **They are more feminine.**

B18: Their activity is

¹²⁵ However, some girls in Banyan High School pointed out that not every girl could enjoy the same benefits. According these girls, they suggested that hyperfeminine girls would usually get more voluntary assistance from boys in class, as they also had closer relationships with boys.

B17: Eating

B18: Aren't like other boys playing sports. They don't do sweaty things.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Young women's construction of boys being physical stronger than girls was not equitable idea pursued by the GEEA, as fixed gender roles were suggested. That is, people of particular genders are good at particular tasks which are predetermined. Young women's ideas about presumed better physical strength of boys also brought discriminatory treatments for both genders. Boys were discriminated against by being required to do more manual work while girls were exempt from the same tasks. Although girls did not consider they were disadvantaged in this regard, they actually gave up the opportunity to enhance their physical strength and to challenge the gender stereotype of being presumed to be physically weak.

Within this construction of boys having better physical strength and being obliged to do strenuous work, a few teachers in both schools also reinforced this discriminatory notion. Young women in both schools generally pointed out that some teachers often called for volunteers by saying 'if you are men that you would like to help' or 'we need some "Zhuang-Dings"¹²⁶'. Young women in Azalea High School pointed out that their tutor would not let girls do cleaning jobs in the outdoor areas in the school. In this case, the school space became productive of constructing appropriate masculinity and femininity.

A5: The tutor disapproves that girls do cleaning jobs in outdoor areas. She thinks it should be boys that carry big brooms there.

A4: It is exhausting to do cleaning jobs out there. You have to move heavy leaves.

(Azalea High School)

¹²⁶ Zhuang-Dings mean 'strong males' in English. A girl in Banyan High School said she did not understand why the teacher always called for Zhuang-Dings. She felt like women were discriminated with physical disabilities in this way, as women were able to do those tasks too, such as delivering books.

Young women in Banyan High School also illustrated this point explaining that a Mathematics teacher insisted¹²⁷ that boys cleaned the blackboard in his classes. There were different interpretations of the teacher's intention from girls including a belief that the teacher thought boys ought to serve or look after girls, and to do the manual work, and that girls were physical vulnerable. Although there were different interpretations of the teacher's actions, girls did not think it was inappropriate as they shared the same idea with the teacher in some ways: boys should do more manual labour, because they had better physical strength. Girls were also content that it was fine that they were perceived to be vulnerable in terms of physical ability¹²⁸.

These gender-differentiated practices were apparently against the idea of the GEEA to ensure the equal access to education because it carried out discriminatory treatments based on people's gender. A strong tendency of the teacher to reinforce the construction of boys having better physical strength and their role of looking after girls can also be concluded, as the task of cleaning the blackboard did not require exceptional physical efforts. Through this teaching practice, the gender equity in the school was not improved yet inequity between genders was maintained.

The double standards set for boys and girls in PE courses were widely accepted as necessary and fair by young women in both schools based on the idea of natural physical differences. Young participants in Azalea High School pointed out that the lower standard for girls had

¹²⁷ Some girls pointed out that when girls were cleaning the blackboard, the teacher would ask girls to stop and called for boys instead.

¹²⁸ However, young women pointed out that they were not fine if the teacher suggested that women were less able than men in other aspects.

both practical and emotional¹²⁹ benefits for them. There was a link between girls' emotional experiences of participating in sports and the nature of the competitive PE course (Evans, 2006). For young women in Banyan High School, they illustrated the example of swimming classes¹³⁰. Although all of girls agreed that girls should have higher grades¹³¹ than boys for the same swimming distance, the gap of grades per circuit of the pool was found debatable within and between groups. In a group interview, two girls agreed that the gap of grades between boys and girls should be kept as 5 versus 8 per circuit while another girl thought it could be adjusted to 5 as against 6 or 7:

YC: What do you think about eight points for girls but five points for boys per trip?

B7: It is still disadvantageous for girls

B8: **It is fair, because boys have better physical strengths.** If you leave the issue of attendance out, eight grades for girls and five grades for boys, it's physical reason.

YC: So you think it is appropriate?

B8: Yes, **it is the same logic as boys have to do military services.**

B9: But if the issue of attendance was left out, I think the gap is a bit big between eight and five points.

YC: So you would prefer like five grades for boys, six or seven points for girls?

B9: Yes, six or seven points for girls.

YC: But you prefer eight points for girls?

B8: Yes, like girls have to pass the test of running eight hundred meters but boys have to finish six-teen hundred meters.

¹²⁹ Some girls in Azalea High School pointed out that if they were asked to jump over lower boxes in the exercise of vaulting box than boys were asked, they would feel more confident so they can make it. However, they did not think that boys needed this 'psychological trick', as jumping over higher boxes for boys was presumed to be not a problem at all.

¹³⁰ Young women in Banyan High School pointed out that in their swimming courses, students with full attendance would be offered basic fifty grades, which was half of full marks (100 grades). Another half of marks would depend on how many swimming trips students finished in total. Per swimming trip, double standards were given by the PE teacher. Girls would be offered eight grades while boys would be offered five grades per swimming trip. However, young women were particularly unhappy about assessment based on full attendance, as girls might not be able to swim because of having monthly period. However, young women's feedback was not taken into account by the teacher. Therefore, most of girls did not get that basic fifty grades based on full attendance while most boys did.

¹³¹ In Taiwanese schools, pupils will be given marks for their PE performances. As the PE course is compulsory for school education, pupils have to be given grades higher than 60 out of 100 to pass the course. If they fail to pass their PE course, they have to resit.

B7: They have to do military services so just let them run.

B8: So it is the same sense with swimming classes.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

The quote above also showed that girls took other examples such as boys being obliged to do military service¹³², to justify their ideas. Although there were slightly different opinions in focus groups about the appropriate gap of grades between boys and girls in PE courses, young women as a whole supported the double standards and regarded positive discrimination as appropriate. The research findings suggest that women's 'inhibited intentionality' affected their confidence in sports and the double standard of teaching practice also reinforced their understandings of masculinity and femininity in terms of physical strength (Young, 1990).

According to the discussion above, it suggests that the construction of better physical strength for boys in both schools conflicted with the objectives of the GEEA in demanding non-discriminatory treatment for both genders and allowing diverse gender identities. Uneven assignments of routine manual work to boys and girls constituted discriminatory treatments based on their gender. The double standards in PE courses did not improve gender equity either, as it failed to encourage girls to gain more physical strength and to further challenge the gender idea that boys were physically stronger than girls. It would be worth considering that the double standards in other subjects would not be acceptable now (for example, having different standards to assess boys and girls performance in Mathematics). However, the double standards in PE courses were still perceived as appropriate, which only suggested that the very close connection between masculine identity and better physical strength was still widely held to and not fully challenged.

¹³² Military service is compulsory for every male citizen in Taiwan.

7.3.3 Interest in (hetero)sex-related issues

Unlike the previous two constructions of masculinity, young women in Azalea and Banyan High Schools showed different levels of agreement in respect to the idea that boys were particularly interested in sex-related issues. All female pupils in Azalea High School asserted that boys had great interests in sex-related issues, providing various examples of boys' behaviours, while only two groups of young women in Banyan High School pointed out similar but less explicit instances. Through analysis of the interviews with young women, the findings suggest that the different experiences of girls in two schools were attributed to the following points: how male pupils showed their interest in (hetero)sex-related issues and whether female pupils were involved in boys' sex-talk activity.

As noted above, in Banyan High School, only two focus groups of girls suggested boys being 'Se'¹³³. Beyond these two groups, another group of girls even considered their male classmates 'cool' as they did not laugh when some of the teachers deliberately or accidentally said something which might suggest sexual meanings. Nevertheless, one group of girls pointed out that they would discuss the issue of boys being Se with their female friends in private:

B12: I would tell my best female friends that **boys are Se indeed**. You cannot tell boys that, because they would deny it. However, it is the truth though.

B11: It's true, it's true.

B12: **They are animals**.

YC: Why you said boys are animals?

B11: **They like pretty girls, even if she has bad personalities**.

¹³³ Through the interviews, the Chinese term, 'Se', was often used by girls to describe boys being interested in talking about sex-related topics or paying attention to women's beauty only. Being Se does not necessarily imply being sexually active. The most close translation of Se in English might be 'sex mad' but not so extreme.

B12: **I think boys are visual animals.**

B11: It's true.

B13: **A bit shallow.**

B12: The only topic that boys talk about is **girls' appearance, body shapes, and what cool things she had done.** That's it, the end of story.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

The quote above illustrates that this construction of masculine identity was one of the topics among girls' friendship groups and a shared viewpoint by them. Moreover, it shows that young women considered boys being animal-like, Se and shallow because boys favoured girls' appearance over their personality.

In contrast, another group of girls in Banyan High School firstly suggested their male classmates were 'pure and clean', because boys had never asked them any 'awkward' questions (with sexual implication). However, this group of girls later suggested that in fact their male classmates 'pretended' to be innocent in front of girls, because they tended to discuss sex-related issues in private and by themselves:

B20: They would discuss it in their **all-male groups.**

B18: You might overhear something and get shocked when passing by a group of boys.

B20: **They would say 'Don't listen' then ask us to go.**

YC: But you know what they are talking about?

B20: **Something dirty.**

B18: **With nasty smiles.**

B19: They would smile brightly, but this kind of bright smile is a bit...

B16: **But they would not ask us anything.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Overall, the group of girls considered their current male classmates had more respect for girls

especially in the context of comparing their previous experiences in junior high schools where boys were ruder, as they would put 'weird DVDs or pictures' in front of girls deliberately.

In contrast to this, all young women in Azalea High School suggested that boys were highly interested in sex-related issues. Various behaviours and conversations displaying boys' interest in sex-related issues were elaborated. Again, girls used the animalisation metaphor:

A6: **Boys in our class are indecent!** If there were girls in skirts passing by the corridor, who they think are pretty, **they would crouch down deliberately and slap the ground.**

A7: Or the girl in class 3 passing by, **they would howl like wolves. They are just a bunch of animals.** What you have to do is to ignore them.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

This example of boys' 'play' as a way exercising their male sexual power suggested that harassment was part of everyday life for young women in schools (Kehily and Nayak, 1997). According to the quote, it was significant to note that the school space was an important site where different actors encountered each other as well as where masculine identity was constructed through interaction with others. It was evident that women were being represented as passive objects of males' sexual desire and this was one of the important features in the construction of masculinity (Mac an Ghaill, 1994). These boys' behaviours might also constitute the sexual harassment which is also one of the issues that the GEEA aims to tackle. However, the school did not seem to pay much attention to this pupil culture. In comparison with teachers' disapproval of physical contacts between boys and girls for preventing the sexual harassment (see section 6.4.2), they were less attentive to the sexual harassment hidden in boys' 'play' (e.g. howling like wolves at girls) without any physical contact.

Some female pupils in Azalea High School indicated that they felt hurt and disrespected¹³⁴ because boys often said that they would rather transfer to other classes where there were ‘Zheng-Meis’¹³⁵, or moaned ‘why do girls in our class not look good like girls in other classes?’ Young women in Azalea High School also pointed out that boys often discussed porn films, porn comics and pictures of nearly naked women in the newspapers¹³⁶. Although most of young women in Azalea High School regarded this expression of masculinity with the contempt, one group of girls illustrated the connection between the construction and normalisation of this particular type of masculinity. In particular, this construction of masculinity was contrasted with femininity:

A4: Though in my opinion, **I think normal boys watch porn. Normal boys would watch it.**

A5: Yes, if he does not watch it, he might be...

A4: He got problems.

YC: How about girls?

A4: Girls wouldn’t watch it.

A5: Girls wouldn’t watch it, would they?

YC: Why you think that?

A4: **Because there is no need, girls don’t have the need.**

YC: Why girls have no need?

A4: **Unlike boys would... masturbate, but girls would not.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

According to the quote, not only masculinity and femininity were exclusively constructed, the perception of asexual women was also suggested. These ideas were not equitable concepts

¹³⁴ Some girls in Azalea High School said that they had let boys know their unpleasant feelings. However, boys said they were just having fun.

¹³⁵ The Chinese term, Zheng-Meis, can be generally understood as ‘pretty girls’ or ‘attractive girls’. However, in order to grasp the spirit of young people’s usage of the language, Zheng-Meis might be better understood as ‘pretty chicks’.

¹³⁶ A girl in Azalea High School pointed out that she felt speechless when boys asked what she thought about the pictures of naked women on newspaper.

that the GEEA aims to attain but rather the ideas that the Act aims to eliminate.

As noted above, it was suggested that boys in Azalea High School showed their interest in sex-related issues in more explicit ways. According to young women, there were different ways boys engaged with conversations about sex-related issues. Boys not only discussed with each other but also asked girls sex-relevant questions¹³⁷. This was a significant distinction between young women's experiences in two schools, as girls in Banyan High School were excluded from boys' sex-talk. However, it was evident that the message of boys' great interest in (hetero)sex-related issues was clearly and constantly delivered through daily interaction among pupils. That also explained why young women in Azalea High School had a dominant conceptualisation of masculinity in relation to a keen interest in sex-related topics.

It was also found from interviews with young women that teaching practices in Azalea High School enabled this particular type of masculine identity to develop. Young women pointed out that boys had porn films, games, and pictures downloaded in their mobile phones, PSP or MP4 and they played them in break time and during the class. Sharing these cultural recourses within male groups was one of the ways that young men were reproducing 'collective masculinity' (Thomson, 1997, cited in Kehily, 2002: 138). No young women spoke of any teachers' actions to tackle these behaviours. Teachers' liberal attitude has been argued to enable pupils' reproduction of masculinity in an oppressive way (Dixon, 1997; Holloway et al, 2000). Young women illustrated an explicit example of what role teaching practice played in the process of constructing this masculine identity. Some girls described a

¹³⁷ For explaining why they thought boys were highly interested in sex-related issues, young women in the Azalea High School illustrated boys' had asked girls questions like: if boys want to do 'something' with you, what is your reaction? Will you care if a boy is a virgin or not? Have you had an 'experience'? Have you seen the porn? Do you masturbate?

scene which happened in their Health and Nursing class when the teacher taught about contraception. Young women recalled that boys were very high, playing with the penis model¹³⁸, causing uproar¹³⁹ to in order to make girls more embarrassed¹⁴⁰. During this chaotic situation described by young women boys gathered around the penis model and played with it while girls were asked to demonstrate how to use a condom, the teacher did not manage to control the situation:

YC: You said boys gathering around in front of the classroom? Shouldn't everyone have been in their own seats?

A9: They left their seats and gathered around the model?

YC: Where was the teacher?

A9: Teacher was around.

YC: So she left the exercise to do by yourselves?

A9: **She was quite happy to call the names to do the demonstration and did not care about what happened next.** (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Examples of boys playing with sex materials or games in class and teaching practice in the Health and Nursing class suggested that the school failed to maintain order, and that this enabled boys to express forms of masculine identity which girls found excessive. Especially in the Health and Nursing class, the teacher did not manage to provide support for girls, which left girls in a powerless position when boys took control of the class.

¹³⁸ A girl pointed out that boys gathered around the penis model in the front of the classroom. The boys also turned the penis model upside down on purpose when the girls were asked to do the demonstrations of putting condom on the model.

¹³⁹ According to young women interviewed, when some girls who had boy friends were asked to do the demonstrations, boys would make uproars like 'imagine that's your boyfriend' or 'you will need it in the future'. Boys' conversations made girls feel more embarrassed apart from doing the demonstration in public.

¹⁴⁰ Young women pointed out that they felt embarrassed because they had to do the demonstration of using a condom in public. Also, they felt embarrassed because they did not understand why girls were asked to do this demonstration, as using a condom should be boys' job not girls'. In this sense, it should be only boys who needed to practice it.

7.3.4 Alternative masculinities and ‘Other’ boys

Apart from the dominant perceptions of masculinity already discussed, alternative masculinities performed by some boys were also revealed by young women. These boys were described by their female classmates as ‘different’ from most boys or were described as ‘Niang’ or girl-like. Differences, involved with a diverse range of characteristics, such as the way of talking, walking, dressing, being quiet (Kehily, 2002). Among the discussion of alternative masculinities, female pupils in Banyan High School spoke most about this issue.

Nevertheless, three groups of girls in Azalea High School identified the issue of alternative masculinities in interviews. One group of girls suggested some boys were a bit different, because they were quiet compared to most of boys. Another group of girls pointed out that some boys were interested in gossip, which conflicted with their usual ideas about boys. The other group of girls in Azalea High School called one of their male classmates ‘a woman’ or even considered him being more womanly than themselves. By knowing topics relevant to women¹⁴¹, the boy was also considered girl-like and ‘Niang’, because his behaviours were like girls and he had higher-pitch voice than other boys according to young women interviewed. Although young women described the boys as Niang and girl-like, they were not disconcerted by that and quite enjoyed getting along with that boy. Nevertheless, girls also pointed out some boys called that boy names in public:

YC: So like Y (a boy), does anyone in class dislike him?

A2: No, **but sometimes there are some boys who would shout out loudly the F word first then said ‘Niang-Pao’**¹⁴². He would still have smiles on his face.

¹⁴¹ A girl in the Azalea High School pointed out that one boy in her class once told a girl about how to wear the bra properly.

¹⁴² ‘Niang’ can be defined as ‘sissy’. Therefore, ‘Niang Pao’ is used to call a boy who is recognised as sissy. As

YC: What do you think him being called Niang?

A2: **Getting along well matters, no matter he is Niang or not.**

YC: So you would not be bothered?

A3: No.

A2: **I feel odd about some people who mind these things.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

This quote suggests that other male pupils abused the feminine boys by calling names to consolidate their normative masculinity and to police non-normative masculine identities (Kehily and Nayak, 1997).

In Banyan High School, young women provided more examples about their attitudes to alternative masculinities performed by some boys in the school. A girl pointed out that one boy in another class was excluded by other boys because of having a high-pitch voice. Within a group of young women, one girl was identified by others as having teased a boy by calling him 'sexy' in loud voice in public, because 'he is feminine'. The girl considered her teasing action to be enjoyable and interesting. However, in the other girls' opinions, it was a humiliating experience¹⁴³. More explicitly negative attitudes to boys showing an interest in beauty products were illustrated by another group of girls in Banyan High School:

B13: A boy in year 1 was fond of looking into mirror. I was sitting next to him by chance. We were not familiar yet but he kept telling me what to use if I had acne, what medicine, and scrub, then it would disappear. He also told me that he took masks from his mum. **Super scary.**

B12: I've heard they (boys) used masks during the fieldtrip.

B11: They would wash their face and take a shower before going out. **I just cannot stand it.**

Pao (literally means 'cannon') is a metaphor of male genital, thus 'Niang Pao' could be directly translated as 'sissy cock'.

¹⁴³ Other girls in the same focus group pointed out that any normal person being called 'sexy' with loud voice in public would run away immediately, because it was embarrassing.

B13: What the teacher asked? 'Raising your hand if you wish to be a person in different gender next life', then he raised the hand.

YC: Who raised the hand?

B13: My classmate in year 1. **So I felt he was weird. He was really scary.** He knew beauty products better than me.

B11: **Scary.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Apart from examples noted above, other discussions among young women focused on a specific boy in their class, who was described as girl-like, being always 'high'¹⁴⁴ and not sharing similarities with other boys¹⁴⁵. A girl who had a close friendship with this specific boy also described him as sensitive. A group of girls felt that other boys might dislike that boy because they did not ask him to join them while pupils were asked to do some teamwork. No girls pointed out that this boy had been verbally bullied in public like the situation in Azalea High School. However, among young women, different attitudes to the boy were revealed. Some girls had more positive attitudes to the boy and said they enjoyed getting along with and talking to him.

Nevertheless, some girls had negative attitudes about the boy because he did not conform to ideas of normative masculinity. For example, a girl complained that the boy was too lazy because he was reluctant to do manual labour, which was supposed to be a boy's job. Apart from this, a group of girls thought the boy was 'too Niang'¹⁴⁶, and they did not like him. These girls described boys being 'too Niang' as horrible and disgusting. The explanation of being 'too Niang' was particularly the way the boy talked. This group of girls pointed out that they felt uncomfortable about the ways the boy behaved. Thus, they did not want to listen to him

¹⁴⁴ In this context, the Taiwanese expression of being 'high' meant being lively and happy all the time.

¹⁴⁵ Some girls in Banyan High School pointed out that the boy would not do things that other boys would do, such as playing basketball, playing computer games, and carrying luggage for girls.

¹⁴⁶ Some young women in Banyan High School pointed out that they were told that they should not call someone being 'Niang' in Health and Nursing course. However, although they knew it, they cannot help it because they cannot find alternative expressions.

neither to get along with him:

B6: The point is **he talks in a girly way, like ‘err, why you did that? (With exaggerated girly tone)’**. **I just do not believe how a boy could act like that. I cannot stand it.**

YC: Because his voice is softer?

B6: Yes, no, not softer, **he is like that kind of dramatic girls.**

YC: What you mean by dramatic girls?

B6: Like some girls would say ‘oh why you did that’ (with hyper feminine tone), **that kind of disgusting way. Even normal girls would not do it.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

In fact, some girls did gossip in private that he might be gay¹⁴⁷. Therefore, it was found that there was a close connection between how girls understand people’s gender performance and their sexuality.

Discriminatory attitudes of boys and girls towards boys with alternative masculinities and examples of these boys being excluded among peer groups suggested that equal rights for all gender subjects were not happening in both schools. As stated above, boys performing alternative masculinities were usually feminised. This suggested the mutual exclusivity between masculinity and femininity. Also, it was evident that the idea of gender identity was intertwined with the idea of sexual identity, as boys considered to have feminine characteristics were suspected to be gay.

¹⁴⁷ A girl having closer relationship with the boy pointed out that many people suspected the boy was gay. However, the boy was actually very homophobic, according to the girl.

7.4 Informal curriculum: What girls are like (or should be like)?

This section focuses on how young women's understandings of femininity were shaped by their experiences of teaching practices and peer cultures. Young women in two case study schools suggested three normative constructions of feminine identities: having the Xin-Ji¹⁴⁸, being sexually innocent, and emphasis on the appropriate dress and behaviour. Moreover, young women's construction of non-normative femininity was related to hyperfeminine performances. In general, young women in both schools shared above normative and non-normative constructions of femininity. However, female pupils in Azalea had a stronger tendency to suggest females' sexual innocence than those in Banyan. The research finds that this difference related to young women in Azalea simultaneously presuming boys being extremely interested in sex-related issues and therefore constructing femininity in an exclusive way. The following sections discuss aforementioned different constructions of femininity in subsequence.

7.4.1 Xin-Ji: hidden thoughts in mind

In both Azalea and Banyan High School, there was an evident tendency that young women conceptualised a close connection between feminine identity and having the Xin-Ji. The idea of Xin-Ji seems to parallel the concept of indirect, relational, and covert aggression among girls in Western literature (Brown, 2003; Crick, 1995; Crick and Bigbee, 1998; Crick et al, 2001; Owens et al, 2000, 2001). Research on aggression has suggested that there are many indirect, relational or social forms of aggressions that are more likely to be expressed by girls

¹⁴⁸ The term, Xin-Ji, is a noun in Chinese and is predominantly used in a negative sense. It is usually understood as a personality is possessed by girls. To describe a girl having the Xin-Ji mostly means that she would speak ill of others behind their backs or she has hidden thoughts which are different from what she performs on the surface. Therefore, in some cases, having the Xin-Ji could mean 'bitching about others'. Similarly, playing the 'Xin-Ji' can be understood as playing the 'bitch'.

than by boys (Hadley, 2004). Having the Xin-Ji was often the first reaction came from young women, when they were asked their ideas about girls or what they thought about studying in the girls' school¹⁴⁹. It is interesting to note that as the most significant construction of femininity from young women in both schools, having the Xin-Ji was dominantly used in negative sense.

Young women suggested that having the Xin-Ji meant a girl complaining or speaking ill of other girls behind their backs. Some girls reported negative experiences of being spoken ill about behind their back or being victims of rumours, especially in junior high schools. However, according to young women, the occurrence of this situation was attributed to two reasons: girls were sensitive and they tended not to 'rock the boat':

A12: **Girls are more sensitive.** So they sometimes feel uncomfortable about tiny things. They cannot just talk to the girl (who offended them) because of **being afraid of upsetting her.**

A11: No, if you talk to the girl, it would feel...

A12: **Hurt the feelings.** So you would talk about it to another girl. Then sometimes you get upset about this girl too, so you talk about it to another different girl.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Young women constructed this femininity in a way that having the Xin-Ji was exclusive to girls. Girls in Banyan High School also described some boys who performed alternative masculinities as sensitive. However, boys' sensitivity was never related to the idea of having Xin-Ji.

¹⁴⁹ Private girls' schools were particularly stigmatised by young women interviewed, as they were presumed to which rich families would send their daughters. Therefore, these girls were considered as more self-centred and it was easier for them to bitch about each other.

The number of female friendship groups and clear boundaries among them were also considered as another important reason to make the construction of girls having the Xin-Ji more evident. Researchers have demonstrated the importance of distinct styles of peer relations to gender difference in style of aggression (Bjorkqvist et al, 1992; Underwood, 2003). As girls were usually divided into different groups with a small number of people, the issue of individuals having the Xin-Ji then developed to be an issue between groups:

B10: It is more possible if there were **many smaller friendship groups**. If one of the group members felt unhappy about someone, then other group members would also stand by her.

B9: **It is serious. Sometimes it even involves people in other classes.**

B7: Some might tell her friends in other classes and then they would believe what they were told and they would stick together

B9: They would not check the fact to see whether it is true or not.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

The quote above illustrated that girls' tighter social networks fostered the use of indirect aggression as friendship and group process (Bjorkqvist et al, 1992; Owens et al, 2000). However, a few girls disagreed that having the Xin-Ji was necessarily relevant to the greater number of girls' friendship groups. Some other girls also illustrated that different groups were not necessarily hostile to each other but only differentiated with each other due to distinct interests. However, in general, having Xin-Ji was considered relevant to the number of dispersed friendship groups among young women.

Within young women's narratives of constructing girls as having Xin-Ji, it was significant to note that some characteristics categorised as feminine were understood in the negative sense, such as being sensitive and preferring to have close relationship with a small number of

friends. This tendency was contrary to the idea of the GEEA, as feminine identities were stigmatised. However, it is interesting to note that although having the Xin-Ji was usually discussed in the negative sense among young women in both schools, a few female pupils in Azalea High School justified this understanding of femininity by admitting they had the Xin-Ji as well:

YC: Why do you think girls play the Xin-Ji?

A7: Because **I know I play Xin-Ji, so I know they play Xin-Ji too.**

YC: Why you play the Xin-Ji?

A7: I don't know, because girls sometimes...for example, she insults me on the internet or she speak ill of me behind my back. So I have to protect myself. I must know what she gets in her mind and I have to prepare to fight back if she hurts me. **It becomes a psychological tactic. That's so-called Xin-Ji.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

YC: We think other girls have Xin-Ji, how about ourselves?

A12: **We have the Xin-Ji too.**

A11: **We know other girls must have the Xin-Ji because we have the Xin-Ji too.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

It is interesting to note the cultural difference in girls' perception of aggression. British researchers, Tapper and Boulton (2000), have found that girls not only perceived aggression negatively but also denied to themselves as well as others that they had been aggressive. However, the research findings suggest a different representation of the self in relation to aggression from girls in Taiwan. This construction of girls having the Xin-Ji is not raised in the existing literature on femininity. Simmons (2002) demonstrates that similar performances are attributed to 'the hidden culture of aggression in girls'. She argues that the aggression among girls is usually ignored because of social disapproval of aggression in girls, as it is viewed as unfeminine. 'To elude social disapproval, girls retreat beneath a surface of

sweetness to hurt each other in secret' (Simmons, 2002: p22). In this case, performing appropriate behaviours under the pressure of normative femininity, having the Xin-Ji in turn recreates another negative construction of femininity which does not really empower girls. With regard to improving gender equity as the GEEA aims to attain, the tendency to construct only girls having the Xin-Ji was not able to challenge the dichotomy of gender difference.

7.4.2 Appropriate dress and behaviours

The second construction of feminine identity shared by young women in both schools was an emphasis on the importance of appropriate dress and behaviours. Some young women in Azalea High School pointed out that female pupils had a tendency to criticise other girls' dress:

A1: I feel odd about why girls...I feel myself odd too. **Why we criticise some girls for wearing skirts which are too short?**

YC: You would dislike a girl if she wears a skirt which is too short?

A1: I might think '**she is Sao**¹⁵⁰' in the past, but now I think it is about **individual style**. But boys do not seem to get criticised for their appearance no matter what they wear.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Some research suggests that girls' attention to their appearance was an illustration to internalise the sexual 'male gaze', the research finds that 'female peer gaze' also played a significant role in disciplining their female counterparts in terms of appropriate dress (Hey, 1997). Other examples in interviews also suggested girls' having opinions about how other

¹⁵⁰ Being 'Sao' in Chinese can equate the usage of being 'slutty' in English. It is used to describe some one who dresses in a sexually attractive way.

girls dressed and the tendency to ‘blame the victims’¹⁵¹ (relevant to the notion of ‘she-asked-for it’).

Apart from the issue of dress, girls were also disciplined in terms of their behaviours as they were expected to perform desirable femininity. For example, a girl in Azalea High School pointed out that she was told by other male classmates that it was not good for girls to swear when she once swore in the classroom. Also, a girl pointed out that she was often told her sitting gesture was ‘indecent’ by her female friends. Even during the research interview, examples of disciplining appearance were found, such as some girls asked their friend to sit properly.

Thus, young women were often scrutinised and disciplined by their friends to ensure maintenance of appropriate femininity, for example appearing lady-like not slutty in terms of dress and bodily gestures (Hyams, 2000). However, in comparison, boys’ dress and body gestures were unlikely to be critiqued as ungentlemanly or too overtly sexually active, though girls did complain boys were sex mad (see section 7.3.3). Therefore, it can be concluded that girls were under more pressure to discipline their own bodies to preserve their reputation and gain acceptance among peers. This emphasis on ‘appropriate femininity’ in terms of girls’ dress and body gestures should be challenged if the diverse gender identity imagined in the GEEA is to become a reality.

The discipline of appropriate dress and behaviours not only happened in girls’ peer culture;

¹⁵¹ A group of girls in Banyan High School pointed out that if any more private parts of girls’ bodies were seen by others, it would be girls asked for it. They also thought that a woman being harassed was related to what she wore.

one of the school rules also requires girls to wear skirts in summer. One-third of young women interviewed clearly expressed their disapproval of this regulation. Young women suggested that wearing skirts limited their mobility:

YC: Do you like to wear skirts?

A6/A7/A8: No

YC: Why?

A8: It's **troublesome**.

A7: Yes, and you **cannot play sports**.

A6: And you **cannot sit inappropriately**.

A7: And you know what, if you are sitting like this (with legs open), your pants could be seen...if someone is standing in front of you. **You cannot sit like this and that, but you can do it when you wear trousers.** (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Other girls had the similar idea that they were used to sitting with more relaxed posture while they were in trousers; however, with school skirts they felt that this was troublesome, and they had to remind themselves to keep their legs together all the time. Thus, keeping the appropriate bodily comportment was also achieved through young women's self-discipline (Hyams, 2000). This suggests that the regulation of school uniform was relevant to a particular construction of feminine identity. Girls were discouraged from being physically active or participating in sports as the uniform was not suitable. In contrast, the interconnection of sports and masculinity has been well noted, as dress code does not affect boys' participation in sports (Connell, 1995; Fine, 1987; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Renold, 2005). Nevertheless, some girls had challenged the connection between the dress code and the construction of femininity:

B1: Why must girls wear skirts?

YC: The school still has this regulation?

B2: Yes.

B1: **Why don't boys wear skirts?**

B3: Yes, like in Scotland.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

YC: What do you think about the regulation of wearing skirts?

B9: It makes a difference.

B7: It makes no difference to me. **Sometimes I wear trousers if I feel troublesome to wear skirts.**

B8: **Of course it makes a difference. Wearing the skirt is really troublesome.**

B7: But sometimes you feel very hot when you are in trousers.

B8: **So, think it in the same way, boys should wear skirts too.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

The above quotes suggest that the school policy of skirts as summer uniform for girls related to construction of particular femininity which was related to the idea that skirts were appropriate dress for girls. Wearing skirts were suggested to limit girls' activities. Therefore, the school regulation of dress code for girls was relevant to the broader image of what a proper female was supposed to look like and how to behave (Hyams, 2000). For the implementation of the GEEA, the gendered dress code in the school was discriminatory and apparently contrary to the objective of the GEEA to create diverse gender identities, as the dress was one of the important means to perform (or live out) one's identity.

7.4.3 Hyperfemininity

The interviews with young women also demonstrated that some girls were identified as 'more feminine' in both schools. The perceptions about these hyperfeminine girls in both schools were similar. They were described as paying more attention to their appearance and dress, wearing make-up, enjoying shopping, and often hanging out with boys. It has been

demonstrated that different femininities can be distinguished between each other along with diverse peer cultures (Morris-Roberts, 2004). Young women in Banyan High School tended to consider girls with these features as ‘different’, while a few female pupils in Azalea High School had negative attitudes toward a specific girl. In Banyan High School, hyper feminine girls had their own friendship group. They were considered by other female pupils as ‘very girly girls’:

YC: What do you mean by very girly girls?

B7: They care about **their appearance and dress a lot.**

B8: **They are that kind of teenage girls nowadays.** I don’t know why I feel distant from them.

YC: What teenage girls nowadays mean?

B7: **Feminine, the very feminine kind.**

B10: **They like wearing make-up, paying attention to their dress, going shopping and enjoying being with boys, gossiping.**

B7: **Having feminine personalities too.** (Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Apart from the perceptions noted above, young women also pointed out that the group boundary of girls who displayed hyperfemininity was more fixed than other female friendship groups. In this sense, it was difficult for other girls to join them or interact with them. In contrast, girls who were identified as hyperfeminine by other young women also provided their own interpretations of being more girly as well as challenging a general presumption of girls who displayed hyperfemininity:

YC: So you think you are girly girls?

B19/B20: Yes, you can say that.

B18: It would be us in terms of **wearing shorts more often.**

B19: **We have more boys around us.**

B18: **We pay more attention to our appearance and images.**

B19: I think it is **the feeling of romance. We have more experiences of that kind of thing but other girls don't.**

B16: **We care about our appearances when going out, such as our hairstyle. Sometimes we wear make-up. It is not like we care about fashion a lot, but we pay attention to our appearances.**

B18: **We are not that kind of girls who only know how to wear make-up but without brains.**

B16: No one said that.

B19: No one said you **only have big breasts but without a brain**¹⁵².

B18: I don't have big breasts. (Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Similarly, hyperfeminine young women in Azalea High School also described themselves to enjoy shopping, being interested in fashion news, and especially talking about boys. It was evident that construction of hyper femininity projected a heterosexualised femininity (Renold, 2005). Unlike young women in Banyan High School, who seemed to hold a neutral attitude toward hyperfemininity, a few female pupils in Azalea High School were clearly against a specific girl, describing her as 'Sao' and did not approve some of her hyperfeminine performances:

A6: **She pays attention to her hair all the time. Even when her hair is tied well she would do it again.**

A7: She brings the flower and wears a necklace everyday.

A6: And if you touch her flower, she gets mad.

A7: A boy once took that flower, and put it on his head. That girl actually cried.

YC: What flower?

A7: It's kind of toy. There is wire underneath. So that boy just curled the wire and wore it. That girl actually cried. It was funny. That boy did not understand it because we all thought that boy was funny by doing that. But she actually cried, **weirdo**.

YC: So they pay more attention to their appearance and fashion. How about you?

A8: Whatever

A7: **We are not over the top.**

A8: **We are alright.**

¹⁵² 'Big breasts without a brain' is a Chinese expression to describe a woman who has beautiful look but is not intelligent.

A7: We would take care of our hair too but we won't make it look like an insane.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

The above quote suggests that the appropriate femininity has a clear boundary. To maintain the appropriate femininity, girls had to take care of their appearance but they could not go over the top. The negative attitudes of young women in Azalea High School toward that specific girl should also be understood simultaneously in another context, as that girl was also conceptualised as being 'full of herself' and not thoughtful. In other words, the girl's performance of hyperfemininity was considered to be more unbearable, because she was also viewed as challenging another idea of appropriate femininity: women should be modest and considerate. With regard to the implementation of the GEEA, there was a big gap between ideals and practices, as restricted ideas of appropriate femininity were still dominant and the Othering of hyperfemininity was evident. This would not help to increase people's tolerance to diverse gender identities or ensure people in different gender positions have equal rights in the school.

7.4.4 Sexual innocence

Compared to the construction of masculine identity of boys being highly interested in sex-related issues, girls were conceptualised as the opposite by most of young women in Azalea High School. However, only one girl in Banyan High School spoke of this issue. The girls in Banyan High School pointed out that in public girls usually kept a distance from sex-related issues. However, sometimes, they could not help overhearing some girls discussing relevant topics in private and felt uncomfortable. Moreover, some girls even talked over this issue with boys:

B6: **I feel girls are deep.** They only discuss those topics in detail in their own group. **I feel uncomfortable and dislike them doing that.** But my hearing is good so I cannot help overhearing it.

YC: What kind of topics?

B6: **They discussed porn as I heard.**

YC: You feel uncomfortable about that?

B6: Yes, I cannot believe that they would discuss that. **I think it is that kind of thing for one-self to keep it in private.** (Banyan High School, emphasis added)

This quote has two implications. First, it suggests a notion that girls should not discuss sex-related topics, especially in public. Second, the example also illustrates counter example to this construction of femininity that actually some girls did discuss sex-related issues as well, but in a more private way, such as within their own friendship groups. Kehily (2002) has discussed the power and agency of female friendship groups in schools to constitute a collective approach to sexuality, which can be shared, regulated and expressed. It is further argued that sexual knowledge developed within female friendship groups can become a way of disrupting dominant power relations in the classroom (Kehily, 2002). However, the research finds that sharing and learning sexual knowledge within friendship groups was not a common experience for young women in Taiwanese schools. This explains why being sexually innocent is one of the dominant constructions of femininity understood by female pupils.

In Azalea High School, girls were depicted as shy and embarrassed in terms of sex-related issues. Also, a group of girls in Azalea High school pointed out their understanding of sexual desire between boys and girls:

YC: Whether you would feel uncomfortable or not would depend on what kind of questions boys ask?

A4: **Yes, like if they asked the question about whether girls masturbate, I would laugh and laugh and think what kind of stupid question is that.**

YC: You just laugh and would not answer the question?

A4: **No, the answer is obvious. I would keep laughing.**

A5: **There is no need.**

YC: What makes you think that boys have the need but girls do not have?

A5: **The sin of hormone.**

A4: **In Health and Nursing class we are told that the peak period for boys is when they are seventeen or eighteen but for girls it is in their thirties.**

A5: So boys would have the need earlier than girls have it later.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

The quote above suggests that the sex education received by young people in the school was dominated by biological understanding of gender difference in the matter of sexual desire. Thus, these scientific explanations not only helped to construct a homogenous understanding of women's innocence and passivity in sex but also controlled ideas of what and when were the appropriate behaviours and timing for women to be able to express their sexual desires.

However, examples to show the pressure based on the construction of girls being less intellectual or less interested in sex-related issues were also illustrated by some girls in Azalea High School:

A1: **I was like neutral in junior high school, but I am more feminine now. So there are things that I cannot do now.**

YC: For example?

A1: **Like I cannot laugh loudly when I hear of sex jokes.**

YC: Why?

A1: **I understand all those jokes. But if I laugh then it feels like other people will have a thought about me.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

It is evident from the quote that the acknowledgement and interest in sex was not missing in young women but rather being repressed by pressure coming from outside the school. In other words, young women did have knowledge or interest in sex, but they were under social pressure not to appear to know or show their interest. In this case, the normative construction of appropriate femininity was maintained. The strong contrary ideas between the constructions of masculinity and femininity in the matter of sex among young people proved that current sex education in the school, dominated by biological understandings, had to be challenged. Sex education was specifically listed as part of gender equity education in the GEEA. However, the effects of current sex education were not to promote diverse gender identities but supported pre-given, fixed and restricted ideas of gender difference in sexual matters.

7.5 Informal curriculum: Developing an intimate relationship in the senior high school

‘Affective education’¹⁵³ was specifically highlighted in the GEEA as one of the topics with which the school can engage pupils and enhance their gender equity consciousness. Thus, this section focuses on discussing young women’s attitudes to developing intimate relationships as senior high school students. It is particularly important to explore the different ideas that young people and teachers have about this issue. In the last Chapter, teachers’ ideas about tackling intimate relationships between young people were explored: the research demonstrates that teachers tended to discourage young people from developing an intimate relationship at this stage. Moreover, young people who were developing sexual relationships were deemed beyond the acceptable boundary for teachers. Teachers also put girls under more pressure to keep the boundary, as female pupils were often asked to take the

¹⁵³ It is relevant to teach students how to deal with different interpersonal relationships.

responsibility to ‘protect’ themselves in this matter. The following section explores young women’s attitudes to developing an intimate relationship, reactions to teaching practices in this matter and ideas about the appropriate type of relationships to develop as senior high school students. Overall, young women’s ideas and concerns of the above issues in the two schools were found to be similar.

7.5.1 The appropriate timing for developing intimate relationships?

Young women in the two case study schools suggested different percentages about how many of their counterparts as senior high school students had experiences of an intimate relationship. The percentages varied from one-fifth to two-thirds. However, for most female pupils interviewed, the ratio was around one-third of senior high school pupils having developed an intimate relationship.

With regard to their ideas about developing an intimate relationship, only five of thirty-four young women interviewed in the two schools pointed out that they were not interested in it at this stage. These girls considered having intimate relationships was troublesome and they did not want to lose ‘free will’ to decide where to go, when to go and what to do. The other two girls pointed out that they were not keen on developing this relationship because of negative experiences in the past or academic pressure. However, the other twenty-nine girls considered that they would not mind if they had a chance to try. Some of girls pointed out that the ‘right feeling’ was significant. However, other girls focused on positive influences brought by developing an intimate relationship, for example sharing feelings¹⁵⁴ and taking it as an

¹⁵⁴ Some young women in Azalea High School thought it was good to have someone close to talk, as there might be some things that they cannot talk to their parents.

innocent experience¹⁵⁵ before growing up. It is important to note that developing an intimate relationship was also expected to be a motivation for getting better academic performances. In this case, young women seemed to share the same concern with teachers that they did not want the relationship having negative influences on their academic performance. However, teachers intended to discourage young people from developing the relationship in the first place while young women focused on how to make the relationship work in positive ways. This suggests a gap between teaching practices and pupils' actual needs in terms of affective education.

Apart from the concern of relations affecting academic performances, a girl in Azalea High School illustrated her hesitancy to develop an intimate relationship based on a particular idea of boys' behaviour:

A4: It seems like boys in senior high schools want to have a girlfriend **only because of sex or they are just being horny.**

A5: I think they are just joking. It is impossible for them to do that thing (sex) with their girlfriends. It is not like that they can always succeed.

A4: So I think it is a risk. Sometimes they just want to find someone to be around because of loneliness.

YC: So you think boys in senior high school are immature?

A5: **I think they want a girlfriend must be that reason (sex). No one would date a pretty girl without sexual desire. It'd be weird.**

A4: I don't think so. Sometimes it is really about the appreciation about someone not the loneliness. (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Although the quote above shows that there were different ideas about boys' motives for developing an intimate relationship within the group, it illustrates the presumed idea of boys favouring sex over feelings as a part of masculinity which further affected girls' intention to

¹⁵⁵ A group of girls in Banyan High School pointed out that if they started to develop romantic relationship at later stages, they would have to consider their partners' degrees, incomes, family background and careers.

develop an intimate relationship. There has been research to demonstrate that sex with girls is presented as a general aim to be desired and expected for school boys (Kehily, 2002).

In summary, developing an intimate relationship for young women in both schools was considered as appropriate. Compared to teachers' concern about the negative impacts brought by this relationship on pupils, young women explored their ideas about creating a win-win situation. Maintaining or even improving academic performance played a significant role in pursuing and justifying the relationship.

7.5.2 Perceptions of teaching practices

Young women in both schools acknowledged teachers' tendency to discourage them from developing an intimate relationship. Female pupils in Banyan High School expressed more clearly than those in Azalea High School that their teachers disapproved of developing an intimate relationship.

In Azalea High School, teachers' 'two-faced' attitudes were highlighted by female pupils. Young women pointed out that some teachers might disclose a supportive attitude to pupils developing intimate relationships in public. However, they also adopted some strategies which were considered by young women as showing a different intention, such as gossiping to others and informing the parents.

YC: Does your tutor ever make it clear that she disapproves of you developing an intimate relationship?

A4: **She did not say it but she actually broke up the relationship in private.**

A5: **She said she supported it in the beginning. However, we had heard of her breaking up the relationship in private like telling their parents.**

A4: **And put pressure on the children.**

A5: We had a couple in our class. We've heard of that, like if they did not do very well in tests, she would ask them whether it was because they were dating with each other. If they did not do well in a test, then she would call their parents.

A4: She would also talk about the couple in other classes and that created pressure on the couple. (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Some young women in Azalea pointed out that teachers might agree with them developing 'an intimate relationship' but did not want pupils to 'develop a sexual relationship'. The school also reinforced this idea in assembly, as some of the young women pointed out that teachers tried to remind them not to conduct 'inappropriate behaviours'.

A9: Didn't the military instructor say the other day? In the Science Building, **there was inappropriate interaction between a boy and a girl.**

A10: **Abnormal interaction between a boy and a girl.**

A9: Caught in the Science Building

YC: What did he mean by abnormal interaction?

A10: **It's over the top.**

YC: What does over the top mean?

A9: They were doing **it** in Science Building.

YC: Having sex?

A9: Yes, it should be.

YC: The term the military instructor used was a bit vague

A11: **I think for the military instructor, even kissing would count.**

A9: **I think kissing is fine. It would not be so serious to be raised in assembly.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Young women in Banyan High School pointed out stronger disapproval from teachers about young people developing an intimate relationship. In particular, a pupil dating someone in the same class was a taboo for teachers. A group of girls provided an example of the way that the

teacher discouraged them from developing intimate relationships with someone in the same class:

B14: I think teachers tend to disapprove of intimate relationships. You remember what Miss Lee said in year 1? **She said that you were like brothers and sisters in the same class. You cannot commit incest.**

YC: Miss Lee?

B14: Our tutor in first year, a Chinese teacher. Our tutor in second year,

B15: **She disapproves of it either.**

B14: **Our Mathematics teacher hates it too.**

B15: **He says ‘do it when you are at universities’.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Developing an intimate relationship was considered by teachers to distract young people’s attention from studying. However, some girls challenged the idea and illustrated the consequences actually varied among individuals. Young women also suggested that academic performance could also be affected by many factors not only an intimate relationship, such as close interactions between friends. Apart from this, some female pupils pointed out that the teachers’ attitudes varied according to pupils’ academic performance. However, young women illustrated two opposite attitudes. Some female pupils said that teachers held a more tolerant attitude to girls with better academic performance in relation to sexual matters:

B20: If you do well in your study and have a boyfriend, they would say **‘keep your eyes open’**. But if you do not do well in your study, **they would beat you to death (a metaphor)**.

B18: They would think that you are good for nothing. **You do not fulfil the basic obligation as a student yet you dare to think something else.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

However, young women also pointed out that girls with better academic performance might

also be under more pressure to keep away from an intimate relationship:

B18: I don't like the teacher see me in that way. She wrote something in my school weekly diary, saying that 'I have potential but I still need to spend more time in studying. Don't just spend time in chatting and playing'. She sets the standard too high for me.

B20: We do the exactly same things. But she is under more pressure than us, as she does better in her study.

B16: The teacher thinks that she should not be like that. She is supposed to be good at study and being quiet. Shouldn't be chatting or playing.

B18: **So the teacher sometimes thinks that I should not get along with boys so well.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

As the school's strategy discouraged pupils from developing intimate relationships, the school did not really put much effort into teaching pupils how to manage their relationships and thereby put the idea of gender equity into personal practices. In other words, the current affective education did not really engage with the issue of gender equity as the GEEA requests. Therefore, gender issues which might emerge in pupils' intimate relationship remained unknown and hidden as the school avoided its responsibility to intervene through affective education.

7.5.3 Right time to have sex?

Amongst young women interviewed in two schools, the research finds that more than four of fifth female pupils shared teachers' views about the boundary of developing intimate relationships in senior high schools, namely that sex was inappropriate. The primary reason most young women were opposed to sexual activity amongst high schools students was that they thought it would 'disadvantage women'. Some young women revealed their worry about

the possibility of becoming pregnant. However, the disadvantages of developing sexual relationships pointed out by young women were primarily related to the idea of 'virginity'. Compared with boys who were considered not to be worried about the issue, girls were found under more pressure to keep their virginity:

YC: I've seen your textbook which encourages you not to have sex before marriage, what do you think about that? So you said that you would not like to develop a sexual relationship. Does it mean as senior high school students or before the marriage?

A11: **This stage when I am in senior high school.**

A10: **I think of becoming disadvantaged.**

YC: What you mean?

A9: **You are not sure whether you would marry him or not.**

A10: And no one knows how many times a boy has had sex, but for girls

A11: It's quite obvious. (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Some girls pointed out that they felt that virginity was an important factor for maintaining a girl's 'value' in a relationship. Here, females' bodies were commoditised in a heterosexual relationship, which fused ideas of sex and gender together (Rubin, 1975). In particular, losing one's virginity before getting married was considered as a particular threat for girls. It was significant to note that the idea of virginity was entwined with the status of marriage. However, the presumption behind young women's illustrations was that everyone would have a specific type of heterosexual relationship through the form of marriage some day in the future:

B10: I feel if a girl sleeps with a boy, she is **devalued**.

YC: You think so?

B10: **Boys would think so.**

B9: **I feel so too.**

B7: **I feel so too.** It depends. Some people might not think it is a problem. But...it is

better **not to have sex before getting married**, because if you **became pregnant** or some guys would say 'you had other men before me' and then **dump you**. Or they would mind. But why do not they look at themselves? Didn't they sleep with other women? **People only care about whether women have slept with someone or not.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

The quote above suggests that women were still evaluated in terms of the sexual dichotomy of virgin/whore (Griffin, 1982, cited in Kehily, 2002). Also, the quote explores that developing a sexual relationship after getting married was considered as the appropriate femininity. The notion of keeping their virginity until marriage was so dominant that, although some girls were aware of the unequal attitudes towards boys and girls, they were unable to challenge the sexual ideal through their own practice with their reputation at stake. Young women were found to be struggling with the dilemma and under the pressure to internalise the idea of virginity. In this regard, there was a gap found between the promotion of abstinence in teaching practices in two schools and lived experiences of worries among female pupils (Kehily, 2002).

B19: If my first time was not given to my husband, if I have given it to another person, but then I marry someone else, **I would feel guilty to my husband. It's a kind of feeling that you feel yourself is not complete.**

B18: Being girls and boys make difference at this moment, you don't know whether he

B17: Yes, **it makes no difference to boys.**

B19: Some boys might feel fine about what his girlfriend did with someone else in the past. He loves her and can accept it. **But I will feel that I am not giving him all.**

B16: **But some boys would mind that your first time was not given to him.**

B18: I feel those boys are...it is the person you like not the

B19: **If boys think so I would think that they are terrible, but the point is I think it in that way too. So I feel a bit contradictory.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

However, few girls challenged the link between having sex and getting married. In other

words, although they think having sex as senior high school students was inappropriate, they did not think that people can only develop sexual relationships after they got married:

B16: I think **after eighteen is okay, not necessarily to be after the marriage**. Also, I would not say that if you had the first time and then you have to get married. **Because I think if you love me then you should not only love that few drops of blood. Seriously, it's nothing. It's just a part of females' body. Why take it so seriously?**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

A13: I think it is unbelievable. How could it be possible? **You must have few relationships before you get married. It is unlikely that you get married after your first relationship. It is just impossible.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Despite challenges from a few girls, most young women still considered that developing sexual relationships after getting married was a more appropriate decision. In consideration of the GEEA aiming to achieve non-discriminatory attitudes to both genders, the exclusive emphasis on girls' virginity suggested a different outcome. Girls were under enormous pressure to make sure they choose the right time, right person and right situation to engage in a sexual relationship for the first time. The highlighting of girls' virginity reinforced a particular construction of femininity: women should not be sexually active. Therefore, if the objective of the GEEA to respect different gender subjects needs to be achieved, then this emphasis on girls' virginity is not equitable and has to be further challenged.

7.6 Informal curriculum: Sexual Otherness

The GEEA not only aims to create equal gender subjects but also equal sexual subjects. However, the issues around diverse forms of sexuality were usually overlooked or given less priority in the schools. For example, young women's discussions around developing intimate

relationships were restricted to the heterosexual framework. The exclusion of gay and lesbian relationships was taken for granted. There was only one circumstance that the issue of gay identity was raised by young women in Banyan High School: boys performing alternative masculinities were suspected to be gay. As equal right for people with different sexual orientations is also a key issue in the GEEA, the following discussion aims to explore young women's attitudes to different sexual identities.

7.6.1 The recognition of gay and lesbian identities

Gay and lesbian identities were pointed out by young women in both schools as the alternative sexuality beyond heterosexuality. However, their attitudes to gay and lesbian identities varied. Among thirty-five female pupils interviewed, one-fifth of the young women expressed negative and intolerant attitudes to gay and lesbian identities. The ratio was higher in Azalea High School than in Banyan High School. Negative terms to describe gay and lesbian people such as 'strange, weird and disgusting' were often referred to by the young women who were intolerant to gay and lesbian identities. One girl related gay and lesbian people to AIDS. This suggests that the conception of gay and lesbian identities as 'abnormal' underpins these negative attitudes. A group of girls in Azalea High School considered that the cause of gay and lesbian identities was due to 'genetic and hormonal mistakes'. This understanding supported and reinforced the idea that gay and lesbian were different from heterosexual people in a subordinate way.

Young women who held negative attitudes to gay and lesbian people also expressed their intention to make the boundary clear between 'we and they'. Some girls illustrated they

would have different strategies if they had to reject an offer of developing an intimate relationship. A group of girls in Azalea High School pointed out that they would give subtle excuses (e.g. have to concentrate on studying) to reject boys but this strategy did not apply when it was a girl to show her affection:

YC: You wouldn't use the same reason, like you said you have to concentrate on your study to reject a girl?

A4: No way.

A5: **Because being a gay is just a strange thing.**

A4: Yes, so she needs to be well prepared to be turned down.

A5: **The point is she being different from normal people. So it's her problem not the problem of the ways that we treat her differently.**

YC: So you think you would adopt an indirect attitude to reject a boy but a strict attitude to reject a girl who is attracted to you?

A4: **Because I have to let her know that I am normal. I want to make a clear line with gay and lesbian people.** (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

The quote suggests that girls who held negative attitudes to gay and lesbian identities also had a strong tendency to differentiate the boundary between normal and abnormal through reasserting their own heterosexuality. It was also important to note that young women justified their discriminatory attitudes to gay and lesbian people by invoking ideas of what is 'normal and natural'.

The research finds that young women who held a neutral attitude to gay and lesbian people had studied in girls' schools or had known some gay and lesbian friends. Kehily (2002: 147) refers to this liberal attitude based on personal contact as 'an enlightened tolerance'. Some young women also pointed out that relationships should be based on love not people's gender. Some girls in Banyan High School pointed out that people would ultimately accept gay and

lesbian identities if they had had gay or lesbian friends around. Some girls also considered that people should not be homophobic:

A7: I cannot stand people who are homophobic. I even discussed the issue of homophobia with the teacher. **I think being homophobic means that you are not open-minded enough and that you cannot tolerate others.** Then you even feel scared or consider other people are weird. I think it is just you are not open-minded. **Also, you have never been in the same place, you are unqualified to blame others being disgusting.** I strongly dislike homophobic people like Lin. I would be dead if she heard this. (Azalea High School, emphasis added)

However, it is significant to note that among girls who responded to hold a more tolerant attitude to gay and lesbian identities, the degree of tolerance might vary¹⁵⁶ when they saw gay or lesbian couples kissing on the street or when the issue was relevant to themselves. The key difference was found to be whether they were involved or not in this issue, visually or practically. A particular example illustrated the dynamic within a group of female pupils, as one girl was questioned by other young women about whether she was genuinely tolerant of gay and lesbian identities:

A8: I am fine with that if it has nothing to do with me.

A7: So actually you still dislike them.

A6: Yes, she dislikes them.

A7: You say you are fine on the surface only if it has nothing to do with you. But actually you still dislike it.

A6: If it has something to do with you, you will...

A8: Because I've never met them so I don't know either.

A7: So what if I love A6 (A6: No way!)

A8: Then I will know.

YC: So if you see a gay or lesbian couple in the school.

A7: Will you feel them disgusting?

¹⁵⁶ A girl in Banyan High School pointed out that if it was a butch-femme lesbian couple or two good-looking gays, they might be more tolerated.

A8: I am alright. I wouldn't care about that. I will just pass by. That's it.

A7: Well.....nothing.

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

Therefore, the research finds that sometimes the tolerance for gay and lesbian identities was conditional. In other words, for some young women, gay and lesbian identities could be tolerated if they did not cross the boundary to have any connection with them or perform any behaviour which revealed their sexuality in public.

According to discussion above, an Othering of gay and lesbian identified pupils in the school was evident. The gay and lesbian identity was still conceptualised by some young women as problematic, unnatural or abnormal. In this sense, gay and lesbian people were still discriminated and stigmatised. These young women's negative ideas about gay and lesbian identity were far from equitable ideas that the GEEA aims to attain. This suggested that there should be more efforts to be made in improving young people's understandings about gay and lesbian identity before the idea of equal sexual subjects could be achieved.

7.6.2 Less tolerance for gay men than lesbian women

Among young women's illustrations of their ideas about gay and lesbian identities, it is significant to note that some of the girls pointed out that the gender differences played a role in this issue. Young women pointed out that boys were less tolerant than girls in terms of recognising gay and lesbian identities by illustrating reactions from their brothers, boyfriends and male classmates. Boys were considered to hold a more hostile attitude toward gay than lesbian people, echoing the research which suggests that the homophobia is intrinsic to heterosexual masculinities (Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Nayak and Kehily, 1996; Sedgwick, 1990,

1994):

B19: My boyfriend would say...they would have huge reactions. **They would say ‘err...disgusting’ or ‘what are they doing!’ those kind of things.**

B8: I recently discussed this with some senior students in year 3. A boy in year 3 said, comparing gay men with lesbians, he cannot tolerate gay men.

B3: My older brother dislikes them very much. **He cannot stand to see a gay being Niang and feels like beating him up.**

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

It was evident that young women acknowledged young men’s lesser tolerance, especially to men being gay. It has been argued that young men are more tolerant to lesbianism than to gay men, as the idea of girls-doing-sex can be seen as erotic, and unlike male same-sex encounters which threaten to disrupt heterosexual masculine identities (Kehily, 2002). However, among young women, a few girls also disclosed they were less tolerant of gay people. Young women pointed out that it would be ‘weird, terrible and uncomfortable’ to see two boys holding their hands together or embracing each other while two girls did the same things were considered to be more acceptable:

A9: Because girls would tie up with each other all the time, you would feel fine with girls holding their hands together. **However, if you saw two boys holding their hands together or going to the toilet together, it is just scary.**

(Azalea High School, emphasis added)

The quote suggests that girls being more tolerant towards lesbians were based on the idea that these behaviours happened often and could also happen between any two girls who were not necessary to be lesbians. It was important to note that young women seemed to have more

tolerance of lesbian than gay people in terms of behaviours such as holding hands and embracing each other. However, this attitude did not necessarily mean lesbian identities were acceptable unconditionally. It suggested that lesbian identity was more acceptable only if their behaviours which were also considered usual and could happen between any two girls.

Young women also suggested that this greater tolerance to lesbians in part reflected the greater acceptability of girls performing 'masculinity' than boys performing 'femininity':

B3: If girls hold their hands together on the street, they look **like friends**. But it would be **weird** if it were boys holding their hands together.

B1: **It's easier for girls to dress up like boys**. Because boys' body shape, voice and Adam's apple are obvious (if they dress up like girls). **Also, it is odd for two men to be holding hands together**. People around them would not be used to it. For girls, some girls have a more masculine look. They cut their hair short, and wear something neutral. People would not say anything about it.

B3: **They are handsome when they dress up like boys**.

YC: So you appreciate it?

B3: **Sometimes, girls are more handsome than boys**.

B1: There is one girl in the school.

B3: Yes, we have a handsome girl in year 3. **I would appreciate her**.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

It is interesting to note that young women interpreted gay and lesbian identity with the idea of cross-dressing. Their ideas also suggested that they only had singular understandings about gay and lesbian subjects, as gays were conceptualised as men who liked to dress like women and acted like women while lesbians were considered as women who dressed like men and acted like men.

Apart from this, the understanding of lesbian sexual relationships was also found to affect

girls' different acceptance of gay and lesbian people. The notion that lesbians could not develop sexual relationships prevailed. A girl seemed to suggest that lesbians could be more acceptable for her because she did not think that lesbians could develop a sexual relationship:

B10: I feel that girls being with girls actually cannot do anything, but boys with boys can.

YC: What do you mean?

B10: I mean, there would not be **that behaviour (sex)** between girls.

B8: What behaviour?

B7: But girls can do some things like hugging or embracing each other. They would be fine.

YC: Why do you think that two girls cannot develop sexual relationship?

B10: Because there is no (penis)...I think.

B7: Some people still can.

B8: It's hard to say, you are not a lesbian anyway.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

Another girl argued that she could not understand the plots described in lesbian fictions based on the same understanding that lesbians cannot develop a sexual relationship.

B14: I cannot understand how two girls can make it. Girls do not have the (penis)...I should put it in this way. I cannot understand lesbian fictions. However, if the sexual relationship is developed between two boys, it is easier to understand. It is more like heterosexual sex.

(Banyan High School, emphasis added)

These quotes suggest the limited scope of current sex education that young people received in the school. It was evident to see that young women's ideas about having sexual relationships were predominantly heterosexual through the form of intercourse or penetration with a penis. Therefore, lesbian identity was a particularly tricky idea for young women to understand, because of the presumed impossibility of two women developing a sexual relationship. In this

case, the objective of the GEEA to create equal sexual subjects was very difficult to attain without improving young people's physical understandings of other sexual practices.

The discussion above suggests that young women had limited understandings about lesbian identity and culture, especially in terms of their sexual relationships. Moreover, it was evident that young women's understandings of sexual behaviours were greatly restricted in the framework of normative heterosexuality.

7.6.3 The emerging bisexual subject

Although one of the objectives of the Gender Equity Education Act is to promote equal subjects among different sexualities, most of discussion focuses on the issue of gay and lesbian identities. The issue of bisexuality is completely neglected in the relevant educational discourses. Based on the discussions of schools' construction of gender and sexual identities in Azalea and Banyan High Schools, the language of bisexuality was missing and the bisexual subject was totally ignored. However, among young women interviewed, four girls actually identified themselves as being bisexual. Among these four girls, there was a shared idea that the issue of gender was not the decisive factor for developing a relationship. They pointed out that being attracted to someone was more relevant to his or her personalities rather than caring about their gender:

A1: I think the thing about like, it should not depend on...whether you have breasts or not, it is too...

YC: superficial?

A1: Yes, when you like someone, you like him/her from your heart. It is not just like that you want to sleep with him/her or not. So why do you care about whether it is he or she?

(Azalea High School)

B1: I am okay with boys and girls. I like the person not the thing he/she gets, body organs. It makes no difference to me. (Banyan High School)

As the quotes above suggest, someone's personality was more important than her or his gender for these four girls in deciding whether to have a relationship. However, two girls actually pointed out specifically that they would only be attracted to girls being 'neutral' or T¹⁵⁷, as they considered themselves to be more feminine. This illustrated that girls who have more flexible ideas about sexual identity do not necessarily challenge their gender identity. Here young women's ideas could also be attributed to more evident T(butch)-Po(femme) identities in lesbian culture in Taiwan.

Two of the four girls identifying themselves as bisexual actually disclosed their sexual identity in group interviews. The strategy to let young participants to choose their own groups seemed to create a supportive atmosphere for them to illustrate their ideas, as other group members already had known their friends' 'secret'. One girl pointed out that other girls in the same group were the only people to know her sexual identity in class:

YC: Other classmates in your class know about your identity?

B18/B19/B20: only we know.

YC: So you would not know other classmates reactions to this issue?

B16: No, I've never talked issues like this.

B19: But she would not care about what they think, because they are not close.

B16: Yes. I told them because we are good friends. If I didn't let them know, who should I talk to?

B19: It is sad if you have no one to talk to.

B16: Because we are good friends. I think they can understand me.

(Banyan High School)

¹⁵⁷ T is one of lesbian identities in Taiwan. It comes from the word 'tomboy' and similar to butch identity in Western countries.

In another group when a girl disclosed she was bisexual, other group members did not seem to be surprised.

The discussion above suggests that the issue of bisexuality is emerging in educational settings. However, as teachers in both schools were not aware of the issue, it revealed a great gap between teaching practices and young people's experiences. For achieving the objective of the Gender Equity Education Act to create equal subjects in terms of sexual identity, it was evident that the issue of bisexuality needed to be included.

7.7 Conclusion

This Chapter has revealed that the gender equity education young people currently receive from the school was very restricted. However, this is not to say that the school did not play any role in how young people constructed their gender and sexual identities. On the contrary, the research has found that boys and girls learned ideas about 'appropriate' gender and sexual models through the informal curriculum, especially among their peer cultures. The failure of formal curriculum to offer gender equity education to young people was attributed to a range of reasons including the limited number of subjects involved, lack of depth in teaching materials, and poor teaching practices. Although there was some gender equity education given in a few subjects according to young women, such as Health and Nursing courses, the taught information was restricted and was organised by a particular conceptualisation of heterosexual relations. All these factors created the effect that the issue of gender equity education in formal curriculum was not paid a lot of attention. In other words, the implementation of the GEEA in the formal curriculum was insufficient and making its aims unachievable.

In terms of interpreting the idea of 'equity' in the GEEA, two meanings are suggested: equal access to education for any gender and sexual subjects, and equal expressions of diverse gender and sexual identities. However, through analysis of exploring young women's ideas about appropriate gender and sexual models they constructed and learned from informal curriculum, none of the two equal requests of the GEEA were fully achieved. Restricted ideas about appropriate gender and sexual identities were circulated through peer culture and unchallenged by teaching practices. In terms of equal access to education as one of the implications of the GEEA, the discriminatory attitudes or actions to boys and girls were still evident in the school based on exclusively fixed ideas about appropriate masculinity and femininity.

With regard to the second meaning of equity that the GEEA aims to achieve, restricted ideas about appropriate gender and sexual identities were also apparent. That means diverse gender and sexual identities had limited space to emerge and were less tolerated. For both masculinity and femininity, normative ideas were found to be reinforced in the informal curriculum. Constructions such as boys being active, physically strong and interested in sex versus girls being passive, lacking in physical strength and sexually innocent were imposed by peer culture as well as teaching practices. Apart from this, normative femininity was also constructed through the ideas of Xin-Ji and strict control of girls' appearance and behaviours. Restricted ideas about femininity could also be found from young women's concerns about developing sexual relationships. In this sense, both alternative masculinities and femininities were discriminated against to different extents in the school.

Restricted ideas imposed in the school did not only apply to gender identity but also sexual

identities. Discriminatory attitudes to gay, lesbian and bisexual identities were evident, as they were conceptualised as beyond normal. Also, young women lacked physical understandings about other forms of sexual identities due to the narrowness of current sex education in the formal curriculum based on the dominantly heterosexual understandings of sexual relations. In this case, restricted ideas about appropriate gender and sexual models still prevailed in the school. In other words, the ideal of the GEEA to improve equal rights for diverse gender and sexual identities has not happened yet.

In sum, this Chapter demonstrates that the implementation of the GEEA was very limited whether in the formal or informal curriculum. The constructions of gender and sexual identities that young women illustrated were not equitable ideas as the GEEA aims to achieve but rather the ideas to be challenged. Therefore, with regard to young people's experiences of constructing their gender and sexual identities in school, restricted ideas of appropriate gender and sexual models were still reinforced and imposed, as young people did not really have the chance to engage with more diverse notions of gender and sexual identities.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This Chapter illustrates the conceptual contributions of the research by drawing on the findings in the empirical chapters (four, five, six and seven). The discussion in this Chapter is set up to engage with wider literature, in particular geographical studies of education, children, gender and sexualities. However, this Chapter is structured slightly different from the way literature is reviewed in Chapter 2. The first section still reflects on geographical work on education. The second section combines the discussion of young people with gender identities while the third section is to discuss young people and sexuality. The reason for doing this, firstly, is to reflect on the problematic fact that the GEEA conflated idea of gender and sexual equity. Although gender and sexuality are interrelated concepts, they are two different sets of understandings. Secondly, by discussing young people's gender and sexual identities in different sections, it helps to forward both debates on gender as well as sexuality in relation to young people. Also, the research findings suggest that it is impossible to separate the conceptualisation of young people without addressing gender and sexual ideals imposed upon, reproduced or/and resisted by them.

Therefore, the first section focuses on challenging the dichotomy of inward and outward looking approaches in studying geographies of education. This thesis highlights the importance of exploring both the role of education in wider society and how educational practices were carried out within schools in order to fully understand the significance of education in relation to social relations and processes. The second section explores the

complex ways in which young people appropriate the discourse of ‘gender equity’ in constructing their gendered notions. It emphasises the inappropriate conceptualisation of children’s exercise of agency as ‘either’ reproducing ‘or’ resisting (adultist) hegemonic notions in the East Asian context. The final section demonstrates the need for geographers of sexualities to be attentive to school spaces and young people’s experiences in reproducing the hegemony of heteronormativity. This thesis also interrogates the concept of heteronormativity by revealing it as an age differentiated notion. In brief, through these three sections, this thesis argues the significance of school space in constituting young people’s gender and sexual identities.

8.2 Breaking the dichotomy: outward and inward educational geographies

This thesis demonstrates that the implementation of the GEEA is related to social processes beyond as well as within school spaces. Furthermore, by conceptualising schools as institutional spaces, the research argues that they are fluid achievements and are actively engaged with accelerating wider social processes. Therefore, it is appropriate to understand schools as neither bounded spaces nor pre-given entities.

8.2.1 The State’s agenda: from social reproduction to a new society

The establishment and implementation of the GEEA confirmed the role of education in wider society in fulfilling different functions (Flint, 2009). In this respect, this research has engaged with the outward-looking approach to examine how education makes spaces (Thiem, 2009). In particular, the research suggests that the GEEA was evidence of the State’s agenda to utilise education in facilitating social reproduction, negotiating cultural politics and reducing

social exclusion in society (Butler and Hamnett, 2007; Thiem, 2009). In other words, the GEEA was the means through which the State tried to create a different society. In terms of social reproduction, the economic role of education in ensuring the reproduction of labour power is often more highlighted (Holloway et al, 2010). However, the implementation of the GEEA illustrates the State's attempt to expand the social role of education and to emphasise its significance in creating social values, identities and subjects. Therefore, the research argues that education is not only about the training of future workers but also about the reproduction and transformation of social meanings and relations (Katz, 2009).

Yet, the emergence of the GEEA was not completely the State's spontaneous creation for promoting new understandings of gender and sexual identities for the future society. It was also a reflection of the ongoing processes of cultural politics in Taiwan. Accompanied by the development of capitalism and informed by Western countries' experiences, women's movements (since the 1970s) and gay and lesbian movements (since the 1990s), Taiwan has continuously transformed gender relations and begun to enable diverse gender and sexual identities/subjects. In the face of this social phenomenon, the State was no longer able to only focus on the economic purpose of education, such as producing competitive citizens for the challenge of global economy (Mitchell, 2003). The construction of desired gendered (and sexualised) subjects/citizens, such as those promoted through the GEEA, became included in the State projects to enhance social integration (Gagen, 2000a, 2000b). Therefore, the changing educational agenda revealed the process of social inclusion in wider society. This was another way to think through education outwardly by focusing on how education influenced and was influenced by the transformation beyond the sector (Thiem, 2009).

Education has been heralded as a crucial means of overcoming social problems and conflicts, in particular through strategies of reducing social exclusion (Bondi, 1988). The research suggests that this positive role of education in increasing social equalities and inclusion was addressed in the GEEA. Existing geographical studies have demonstrated that education was utilised by the state to bridge social gaps produced because of differences in IT skills, disability and race (Holt, 2007; Thomas, 2005b; Valentine et al, 2002). There have also been studies exploring children and young people's gender and sexual identities in an inadvertent context through their time spending in schools (Evans, 2006; Holloway et al, 2000; Hyams, 2000; Morris-Roberts, 2004; Valentine, 2000). However, this thesis reveals that the State's deliberate attempt to tackle social discriminations based on normative ideas of gender and sexual identities in educational settings, as well as to prevent its occurrence in future society. Some research suggests that social or cultural values in education (e.g. multiculturalism) have been shifted away from forming social bonds to strengthening the economic purpose of education by the state (Mitchell, 2003). However, the research argues that the inclusive social value per se (e.g. gender and sexual equity) is still a crucial element that the State tries to achieve through education in Taiwan.

Schools, as part of the state apparatus, are institutions through which the state power is exercised (Flint, 2009). However, the research reveals that the State did not always succeed in applying its power, because it was not the only source of power (Foucault, 1977). The resistance could come from the schools. This thesis suggests that the power relations between the State and the school were greatly influenced by strategies that the State adopted. The importance of the curriculum has been demonstrated as the key means through which the state can achieve its different objectives, such as shaping national identities (Apple, 2004; Morgan, 2004; Thiem, 2009). Differently, the Taiwanese government attempted to transform

gender and sexual norms through legislation, the GEEA. Yet, the enforcement of the GEEA was diminished because of the lack of rigour in assessing compliance with the Act, serious penalties and explicit guidelines for teaching. In other words, the State appeared to exercise its power through a powerless means. This suggests that the State was not particularly keen on gender equity education. The GEEA was not taken by the State as its own proposition but kept as a response to feminist campaigns. To be specific, the GEEA was the result of power negotiations between the State and feminists. The State's passive and inconsistent attitude to gender equity education continuously generates disputes¹⁵⁸. This context rendered individual schools with more capability to negotiate with the State's will: the implementation of the GEEA. As such, to fully understand the impacts of the GEEA, we must not only examine the States' agenda to shape wider society. The research has also looked inward into the schools to explore how schools matter in the implementation of the GEEA.

8.2.2 Schools matter: the significance of school space

Because the State failed to provide formal curriculum on gender equity education in schools, the research then focuses on the importance of informal curriculum, including multilayered institutional cultures: school policies and cultures, teaching practices and peer interaction in reflecting the implementation of the GEEA (Holloway et al, 2000). Some geographical studies have demonstrated that schools are dynamic environments where different actors interact with each other and social relations/meanings are contested (Hemming, 2007; Holt,

¹⁵⁸ On 6th, February, 2010, the Department of Education in Taipei City Government issued a document suggested by Taipei City Council Civil Affairs Committee (CAC) to all schools about banning gay and lesbian student activities. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association filed a petition to oppose the action on 25th February. Within less than a week, more than 100 organizations and 1,500 people signed the petition against government's action to encourage discrimination against gay and lesbian students in schools and to break the Gender Equity Education Act. On 2nd March, more than 100 people joined the protest held outside the Taipei City Government Building. The Head of Department of Education in Taipei City Government apologized and accepted the petition.

2007; Valentine, 2000). The research suggests that teacher-pupil interactions in class were crucial battlegrounds, where in this case gender and sexual norms were shaped through 'the moral economy of the classroom' (Fielding, 2000). School policies were found important in deciding whether to take the issue of gender equity education on board or not and in seeking external funding for holding events in schools. Yet, their influences on changing young people's perceptions of gender and sexual identities were restricted. The findings demonstrate the difficulty in identifying which school was more effective in implementing the GEEA. In particular, teaching practices and peer interactions within individual schools were far from homogeneous or coherent but appeared to be complex and contradictory.

The research reveals the restricted influences of school policies in Azalea High School. The Counselling Office as the main responsible sector recognised the ethos of the GEEA. The Administrative teachers not only illustrated their agency working with local government but also demonstrated their commitment to implement the Act through the school's own inputs into organising relevant events for pupils. The school space was utilised to deliver messages of gender equity education, such as holding events in open space to attract pupils and the display of posters (see section 5.2.2). The amount of efforts showed that administrative teachers shared the vision of the policy (Hemming, 2007; Holloway et al, 2000).

However, the influence of the proactive administration in implementing the GEEA in Azalea was limited because restricted time and resources were allocated to the issue, and there was restricted participation by teachers and pupils during the process (see section 5.2.2 and 5.3.2). In this sense, in most days without events, the research illustrates that individual teachers' classrooms were still dominated by normative understandings of gender and sexuality in

Azalea. Class teachers' neglect of gender equity education and their absence in disciplining boys' disturbing behaviours enabled heterosexual masculinity in class (see section, 7.2.3) (Dixon, 1997; Holloway et al, 2000). More than that, in the informal world of young people during the break time, male pupils were able to carry on exercising their hegemonic masculinity by harassing girls passing by in the school corridor and adopting discriminatory language towards boys who performed non-normative gender identities (see section, 7.2.4). Thus, according to the findings in Azalea, the research shows that if class teachers failed to recognise their role in actively engaging with gender and sexual politics when they were teaching, the unequal power relations between pupils were not only reproduced and contained within the classroom but also were diffused beyond the classroom and constituted a significant part of their peer culture.

In Banyan, the administration played a less active role in attaining the objectives of the GEEA. Resistances to the policy from the Counselling Office were evident. As they did not share the vision of the policy, they only managed to fulfil minimum requirements by Law. Moreover, the Counselling Office, being reluctant to be in charge of the duty, generated tensions with other administrative offices and class teachers, as the Counselling Office thought that class teachers should have shared responsibility for implementing the issue, while class teachers blamed the Counselling Office for not doing much. The spatially segregated allocation of offices and unpleasant experiences in the past made communication and incorporation between different sectors in the school more difficult (see sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). These suggested a non-integrated, ineffective, and unsupportive form of school structure of Banyan, which diminished its capability of implementing the GEEA properly (Hoy and Sweetland, 2002; Scribner et al, 1999; Suarez-Balcazar et al, 2007).

Yet, the research reveals that normative gender and sexual norms were more often negotiated and challenged in individual classrooms in Banyan than in Azalea. Rather than being absent and distant, a few teachers in Banyan actively engaged with gender equity education by giving equal opportunities for girls to answer questions and raising the issue of gay and lesbian identity (see section 6.4.3). Correspondingly, young people were also found to be more equipped with diverse understandings of gender identities and non-discriminatory attitudes to gay and lesbian identity in particular. The difference between teachers' pedagogical practices in two schools was because Azalea High School with better reputation had more senior teachers while Banyan High School with less reputation had more young teachers. These two types of teachers have different attitudes towards to the GEEA. Therefore, in the context of inefficient law, teachers' personal politics came to dominate schools and influenced young people's experiences. Thus, the research suggests that the classroom was not a fixed place but a dynamic site shaped by different pedagogical practices through which social norms were negotiated and the nature of the space varied (Dixon, 1997; Fielding, 2000; Hemming, 2007). The research does not intend to suggest other microgeographies such as playgrounds in schools did not matter in shaping pupils' gender and sexual identities. However, the intense and repetitive social interactions between different actors in the classroom located it at the centre of the reproduction or transformation of social norms. It was also the place where unequal power relations among pupils can be dealt with and pupils can be empowered if teachers' intervention were appropriately applied. This could further enhance young people's agency in negotiating their gender and sexual identities within peer culture as the findings in Banyan suggested.

Through identifying the differences in implementing the GEEA and negotiating gender and sexual norms through teaching practices in Azalea and Banyan High Schools, the research

has explored the close connection between teaching practices and peer culture. As such, the research demonstrates that the school matters in reproducing and transforming young people's gender and sexual identities, particularly in the way that class teachers' practices played a significant role within the process.

8.2.3 Institutional geographies: within and beyond school spaces

Through examining how schools implemented the GEEA, the research illustrated the processes of reproduction of institutional spaces. Firstly, the research demonstrates the schools were not fixed and stable entities but were made and dynamic achievements (Philo and Parr, 2000). This was illustrated through incoherence and contradictions found from multilayered cultures between and within Azalea and Banyan High Schools. For example, to what extent the GEEA was implemented depended on whether the Counselling Office shared the ethos of the policy and how it recognised its role as the responsible sector. Also, the dynamic nature of the classroom space was subject to negotiation between teachers and pupils' agency in reproducing or challenging conventional norms (Hemming, 2007). These suggest that as an institution, the school can no longer be understood and analysed as a prior structure but a fluid accomplishment (Philo and Parr, 2000). Thus, it is important to focus on the ways in which a variety of social relations were negotiated over time and how these negotiations affect the operation of schools in achieving different objectives.

Secondly, the research argues that the reproduction of institutional spaces was not only related to schools per se, but also linked to wider spaces in which they were embedded (Holloway et al, 2000). Azalea and Banyan High Schools were not independent

establishments but fixed firmly in Taiwanese society. Therefore, these two schools were also reproduced through different actors drawing on wider sets of ideas from Taiwanese society and further articulating them in school space. In particular, according to teachers' narratives, the difficulties of implementing the GEEA in schools not only challenged the heteronormative economy of the Taiwanese society but also confronted the role of high school education as exclusively focusing on pupils' academic performances (see section 5.2.2). Young people also appropriated wider understandings of gender and sexual identities (e.g. social pressure for young women to avoid premarital sex) in negotiating their subjectivity. These examples suggest that it is impossible to understand the school space by separating the wider spaces where it was embedded. Therefore, the research argues that the reproduction of school space was shaped through different geographies inside as well as outside the school gates at various scales.

However, thirdly, the research also argues that schools were not places, which reflect sets of ideas from wider spaces only at a smaller scale, as a miniature. Rather, they worked as crucial sites to actively engage with the reproduction and transformation of social meanings (Ansell; 2002; Holloway et al, 2000; Holt, 2007; Hyams, 2000; Thomas, 2005b). For example, while teachers were informed firmly by the idea of heterosexual presumption and neglected other sexual identities, their teaching practices not only reflected but also further reinforced the heteronormativity within and beyond the school space, as an integral part of heterosexual mechanisms in society. In other words, the internal practices in schools also have external effects in wider spheres (Philo and Parr, 2000). In concluding the second and the third points, it can be suggested that the school and the wider spaces where it embedded were mutually constructed.

8.2.4 Summary

The discussion reveals that how the research engages with both outward- and inward-looking approaches of studying education through the lens of the GEEA. Outwardly, the research argues that the GEEA was utilised by the State to create a new society where diverse gender and sexual subjects could be enabled. In this sense, the GEEA also had impacts on the process of social inclusion. Inwardly, the research has explored how the GEEA was implemented differently in two schools to illustrate the significance of school space. Moreover, by drawing on concepts of institutional geographies, the research further deconstructs the dichotomy of inward/outward looking approaches to study education by suggesting educational practices within schools were mutually constituted with social meanings/processes in wider society. Therefore, it is impossible to understand the former without the latter and vice versa.

8.3 Contradictory trajectory: becoming a gendered subject

It has been demonstrated in Chapter 7 that young women's discourses of gender identities were far from coherent but rather included mixed and contradictory messages. In this sense, this thesis argues that the dualistic conceptualisation that young people 'either' resist 'or' reproduce particular norms cannot explain the complex process of them forming subjectivity (Ansell, 2002). The findings suggest that the discourse of 'gender equity' was articulated differently in distinct contexts by young women to justify their perceptions about particular gender performances. The purpose here is not to conclude that whether young women resisted normative ideas or not, but to understand how they, as subjects, simultaneously accepted and rejected some of normative notions of gender. In exploring young people's

contested understanding of the discourse of gender equity, the discussion also highlights young people's different experiences in negotiating their gender identities in this particular context of East Asia.

8.3.1 The GEEA and the conceptualisation of young people in Taiwan

By examining the emergence of the GEEA, it was found that the competence of young people as social actors was not recognised during the process of policy making. Compared with the growing concern of consulting children in making relevant policy in the West, the establishment of the GEEA suggested that children's right to political participation was not yet acknowledged in Taiwan. As for the content, the GEEA highlights responsibilities of schools and teachers to 'guide' young people while young people's experiences and agencies are greatly neglected and underestimated. This tendency is related to the West-originated Apollonian conceptualisation of childhood that children need adults' protection and enlightenment (Jenks, 1996). It also reflects prolonged hierarchical order between adults versus children and teachers versus pupils in Chinese culture.

Yet, the findings suggest that what young people can learn about gender equity education from the school curriculum was extremely restricted (see 7.2). The significance of the school curriculum in shaping children's experiences and identities has been recognised (Evans, 2006; Hemming, 2007; Morgan, 2004; Thiem, 2009; Valentine et al, 2002). However, the GEEA has not led to a profound or evident change in school curriculum. In this sense, the implementation of gender equity education greatly depends on individual schools and teachers' attitudes to the issue. However, not every teacher was aware of the significance of

gender equity education.

The research argues that the lack of formal curriculum in gender equity education has been a structural constraint for young people, making it difficult for them to be well informed, and to challenge dominant norms of gender identities. Yet, this is not to say that young people were not influenced by the concept of 'gender equity' at all. In fact, they considered it as common sense (see section 7.2). However, young women's understandings were 'banal ideas of gender equity', paralleling what Thomas (2008) terms 'banal multiculturalism' in her study, meaning multiculturalism without any analysis of racism and racist identification. The research finds that young women's perception of gender equity did not imply their understanding of sexism and oppressions caused by performing different forms of gender identities. Their idea of gender equity remained restricted by focusing on equal treatments between men and women. Therefore, it explained why gender stereotypes and discrimination towards particular gender identities were still prevalent among peer culture in schools.

The difficulty of implementing the GEEA in schools was also related to the expectations of high school students in Taiwan. The research finds that 'getting pupils to good university' is a dominantly shared value in Taiwanese society for high school education. This had put huge pressures on young people as well as teachers. As James and Prout (1997) suggest, the construction of childhood is contextually specific. Thus, it is important to understand that the pressure on young people's academic performances might be a common phenomenon worldwide, but the situation is particularly critical in populated East Asia. Also, academic achievement is highly encouraged and valued in Chinese culture¹⁵⁹. Therefore, implementing the GEEA was considered insignificant, as it did not improve young people's academic

¹⁵⁹ There is a well-known Chinese saying: 'Learning is the noblest of human pursuits'.

performance or imply any foreseen advantages (e.g. being more competitive in the labour market). In other words, gender equity education was not regarded either as what young people need or what they should be concerned with at this stage. Therefore, the failure of the implementation of the GEEA was closely linked to the conceptualisation of young people about what they should be doing and what was supposed to be important to them in this particular context of Taiwan.

As a result, the lack of gender equity education under the GEEA left young people to construct their gender identities by drawing on ideas from wider society as well as from teaching practices and peer culture within the informal curriculum. There have been studies to illustrate young people's agency in negotiating gender identities with peer cultures in particular (Morris-Roberts, 2004; Valentine, 2000). The following sections challenge the dualistic understanding of children 'either' resisting 'or' reproducing a particular discourse (Ansell, 2002). By revealing their contested interpretations of 'gender equity', the research argues that it is a complex process for them becoming gendered subjects.

8.3.2 Gender equity: 'same treatment' and 'tolerance for difference'

The research findings suggest that young women's perceptions about gender identities rarely challenged conventional norms. However, in those cases, the discourse of gender equity was articulated in two particular ways: 'same treatment' and 'tolerance for difference'. In terms of gender equity as 'same treatment' for boys and girls, young women challenged the male dominance in the classroom, which affected their learning (see 7.3.1). In this case, young women resisted the classroom being gendered and reproduced as a space where men were allowed to dominate (Dixon, 1997; Holloway et al, 2000). Simultaneously, young women

also challenged a particular set of power relations that subordinated women to men. However, the most prominent examples of young women interpreting gender equity as same treatment were reflected on issues about school uniform and virginity.

The resistance to dominant ideas of gender performance by young women was primarily reflected in their opinions about school regulations on wearing skirts. By understanding equity as same treatment, young women suggested that 'boys should wear skirts too' when they were told that regulation was for their good, because it would not be comfortable to wear trousers in hot summer. In this way, young women challenged the gender expectations of dress code. The research argues that in terms of insisting on gender differentiated uniform, the dress became the locus of meaning in the negotiation of gender identity and performance (Hyams, 2000). By challenging the equation between particular gender and dress (e.g. boys=trousers, girls=skirts) in terms of the school regulation, young women negotiated the nature of school as a site of the reproduction of normative notions of gender identity and performance. Young women's challenge to school regulation of uniform also proved how institutional spaces such as schools exercised their disciplinary power through controlling young people's bodies (Foucault, 1977).

Nevertheless, young women challenged the school regulation of wearing skirts by emphasising practical reasons rather than arguing it imposed gender ideals. Young women expressed how they disliked the way their bodies were disciplined and also how wearing skirts restricted their participation in sports. This narrative of girls' low participation in sports was different from Evans' (2006) explanation of the impacts of male gaze on female body. Rather, the limitation of clothing was one of the reasons that girls were kept away from sports

spaces in schools and engaged with other less active activities (Krenichyn, 1999).

The issue of whether young women were allowed to wear shorts as summer uniform might seem mundane. However, schools in East Asia are more controlled environments than in the West in terms of disciplining pupils' bodily appearance. Young people in Taiwanese high schools are under strict regulation, and are not allowed to wear make-up and accessories (e.g. earrings), to dye or perm their hair; shoes and socks must be of a particular colour etc. Therefore, it is important to understand that the disputes about uniform regulation are related to the challenge of young women's gender identity in the context of East Asia. This is a different experience from their counterparts in the UK and US schools where young women shape their gender identity by negotiating different styles of clothing (Hyams, 2000; Morris-Roberts, 2004)

When young women adopted the discourse of gender equity as same treatment in the matter of developing a sexual relationship, they had challenged the exclusive emphasis on women's virginity (see 7.5.3). The issue of virginity relates to the idea of sexuality rather than gender, but it is an extremely gender differentiated concept in Taiwan. Young women pointed out that it was unequal that women who lost their virginity before marriage were condemned while men were not under the same pressure. However, despite acknowledging the different expectations for men and women, female pupils also illustrated that it was unlikely for them to resist the notion through their own sexual practice. It suggested that although young women challenged the privileging of virginity, they also sought to emphasise their own decency. The research argues that it is important to explore why there was a contradiction between young women's perceived attitudes and practices. The findings suggest that

‘emotion’ played an important part in influencing young people’s agency (Evans, 2006; Hemming, 2007). Young women struggled and found it difficult to find a balance between their intellectual acknowledgement and uncertainty about potential risks (pregnancy, poor academic performance, regrets and social disapproval). The contradiction was also attributed to a singular discourse in sex education and general teaching practices which only emphasized the negative impacts of developing sexual relationships particularly for girls (see 6.4.1). The research argues that the discourse of emphasising women’s virginity is one of the social practices for pathologising female sexual activity (Hyams, 2000). It also reinforces the discourse that associates feminine identity with a lack of sexual activity. Thus, young women learned and became gendered subjects through policing their sexuality.

The discourse of equity was also interpreted as ‘tolerance for difference’. In both Azalea and Banyan High Schools, there were boys considered by young women as different from most boys in ways, because they were Niang and girl-like. They indicated that they enjoyed getting along with those boys and were not disconcerted by their non-normative gender performances (see 7.3.4). Moreover, this discourse was also adopted by young women in Banyan in terms of their attitudes to hyperfemininity. They clearly categorised some girls in schools as different, because they were ‘very girly girls’. However, although pointing out those hyperfeminine girls’ characteristics, such as doing make-up, paying attention to dress and enjoying being with boys, no judgements were made about them (see 7.4.3). The research finds that identifications of different forms of gender performances were subtle in Taiwanese high schools. For example, compared with hyperfemininity being perceived as sexually active and therefore being policed in the West, the sexualised nature of hyperfemininity is less evident in the Taiwanese context, as developing sexual relationships is still considered as a taboo for high school students.

This discussion has illustrated how young women challenged dominant notions of gender identities to different extents in forming their gender identities by adopting the discourse of gender equity as same treatment and tolerance for difference. However, in other cases, the discourse of gender equity was adopted differently which worked to reproduce hegemonic understandings of gender ideals.

8.3.3 Gender equity: ‘double standards’ and the ‘pursuit of homogeneity’

As aforementioned, the discourse of equity was articulated by young women as representing ‘same treatment’ and ‘tolerance for difference’ which illustrate the potential to challenge conventional notions of gender identities. However, the findings illustrate that the discourse of equity was also explained in a different way, which suggests gender equity means ‘double standards’ and ‘pursuit of homogeneity’ of gender performances. In other words, the discourse of gender equity was strategically manipulated by young women to simultaneously resist and reproduce particular gender identities.

In terms of young women interpreting the discourse of gender equity, there were clear presumed double standards in relation to bodily strength. Most evident examples were about manual work and performances in the PE course. Doing manual labour is a usual element in Taiwanese school education; students have to do cleaning tasks everyday at a particular time (see section 3.2.4). The research demonstrates the importance of mundane practices in influencing young people’s identity formation (Fielding, 2000; Holt, 2007; Thomas, 2005a, b). By constructing masculine identity as representing better physical strength, most young women felt that it was ‘equal’ for boys to be asked by teachers to do more manual work in

schools (see 7.3.2). In fact, the manual labour was not considered beyond young women's physical ability. Thus, the ritual 'unequal distribution of responsibility' was not based on differentiated physical strength but the gender ideal of active boys versus passive girls. It also worked to reinforce the idea of young women's vulnerability. It was through this process that young women were disempowered by accepting their physical incapability to achieve things that they were capable of doing. Young women's reactive attitude to manual work can be concluded because it was 'work' rather than an 'enjoyable thing' to do. However, it also related to that bodily performance was not as essential an element in feminine identity as it was in masculine identity (Valentine, 2001b).

The example of PE courses in Banyan High School also illustrated that how young women invoked the discourse of equity to suggest 'double standards' for boys and girls in terms of assessment of their performance. The research argues that girls' agreement with the double standards had assumed their lesser ability in physical tasks. Underestimation of their physical strength beforehand can result in less than full effort being given by young women (Young, 1990). As a result, the difference in physical strength between boys and girls was confirmed and reproduced through their own practices. This thesis argues that the way that young women interpreted the equity discourse as double standards naturalised and reinforced gender differences.

By invoking the equity discourse, young women not only naturalised gender difference but also further excluded particular alternative gender performances by assuming the 'homogeneity' of gender identities. One of the most evident examples was the mutually exclusive feature of masculinity and femininity suggested by female pupils. Masculine

identity was considered to be active and sexually obsessed while femininity was regarded to be passive and sexually innocent (see 7.2.3 and 7.3.4). Social constructions linking masculinity to activity and femininity to passivity have been constructed as essential in naturalising heterosexuality as monogamous procreative sex involving penetration by the penis (Hubbard, 2000; Valentine, 1993b). Moreover, boys who performed alternative masculinity and were not keen to be involved with manual labour were considered as lazy and girl-like. They were blamed for escaping from their obligation as men. The assumption of homogeneity of gender identity was also evident in young women's narratives about having Xin-Ji as a feature exclusive to feminine identity. These examples illustrated that the discourse of gender equity was adopted by young women to reproduce essential understandings of gender difference, masculinity and femininity, and regarded those as inevitably biological and monolithic facts. Apparently, this was not the objective that the GEEA set out to achieve.

8.3.4 Summary

The discussion illustrates how the establishment and implementation of the GEEA underestimated young people's agency in Taiwanese society. The research suggests that young people were active actors with agency to construct their lives. However, the process of young women constructing their gender identities was not a straightforward trajectory: either to resist or reproduce the dominant discourse. Rather, it was a complex process of identification involving young women's contested understandings of gender equity. Specifically, there are two contradictions that the discussion demonstrates. First, the contradiction was shown from female pupils' challenge to some normative gender ideals but simultaneous reproduction of the other normative gender norms. Second, the contradiction

was also found between young women's attitudes and behaviours (the example of virginity). Most importantly, the discussion also reveals a different experience of young people in negotiating their gender identities in the East Asian context where there are distinct gender notions supported by a variety of school practices (i.e. manual work, PE course, and uniform regulation).

8.4 Sexualised school spaces and young people

In terms of the neglect of studying school spaces and young people's sexual experiences in geographies of sexualities, this section demonstrates how school spaces were sexualised through everyday constructions of sexual identities. The discussion also explores schools as significant sites where young people were regulated by age-differentiated heteronormative ideas.

8.4.1 The reproduction of heterosexual subjects

There have been numerous studies illustrating that it is impossible to discuss notions of gender identities without noting its inherent presumption of heterosexuality and vice versa (McDowell, 1995; WGSF, 1997; Valentine, 1993a, b). The research findings confirm the intersection between gender ideals and heterosexual identity in both teachers' and young women's narratives. In teachers' construction of masculinity as active and out-going, it related to boys doing sex talk in heterosexual terms in class (see section 6.2.2). For young women, the ways they suggested boys were sex-mad were also overwhelmingly based on males' desire for 'females' (see section 7.3.3).

The research findings suggest that schools were where heterosexual subjects were produced, because teachers' heterosexual presumption was evident. Heterosexual relationships among pupils were considered to be normal and natural (see 6.4.1). Teachers' favour of heterosexual identity was even clearer when they disclosed their attitude to gay and lesbian identities. While it was considered age appropriate for pupils to claim their heterosexual identity, some teachers suggested that self-identified gay and lesbian pupils should wait until 18-years-old to confirm their sexual identity as 'authentic' (see 6.4.3). This suggests teachers' strong tendency to assume heterosexuality as 'the norm'. It also implied that gay and lesbian pupils were regarded to be just temporarily confused or too young to recognise their heterosexual nature deep inside.

Another way for schools to reproduce heterosexual subjects was through the regulation of public displays of affection. Namely, any physical contacts regarded as intimate (though the idea largely varied among teachers) between a boy and a girl was sexualised and teachers intervened (see 6.4.1 and 6.4.2). The same behaviour between pupils of the same sex was then desexualised and overlooked (see 6.4.3). Under these circumstances, the regulation of public displays of affection did not serve to demolish heterosexual identity, it seemed. On the contrary, it imposed the idea that heterosexuality was the supposed sexual orientation. Therefore, physical interactions between pupils of different genders needed to be monitored and disciplined to avoid them developing sexual relationships, which was the last thing that teachers wanted. As such, the research argues that the boundary set by the school to control sexual interaction did not conflict with but presupposed that schools were operated in a way based on heterosexual presumption to reproduce heterosexual subjects.

The research also illustrates that embodied practices were crucial for young people to construct their heterosexual identities. The significance of bodily performances as constitutive to gender/sexual identities has been debated (Butler, 1990; McDowell, 1995). This thesis reveals that pupils performed a variety of embodied practices. For example, by shouting aloud, crouching down and slapping the ground, boys expressed their heterosexual desire to girls passing through the corridor (see 7.3.3). The fact that girls were asked to practice putting a condom on a male model so they would know how to do this with their boyfriend, and male pupils messed around in this class, meant girls and boys were positioned and reproduced as heterosexual subjects. The school space was also heterosexualised (Dixon, 1997; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Kehily and Nayak, 1997).

The research also illustrated the importance of studying ‘unsexy spaces’ to explore how the hegemony of normative heterosexuality was maintained in everyday environments (Hubbard, 2008). There have been geographical studies focusing on the ways that the home and the workplace were sexualised (Johnston and Valentine, 1995; McDowell, 1995). The research argues that schools were dominantly reproduced as heterosexual spaces which reinforced dualistic masculinity and femininity through different practices in schools, such as school curriculum, school regulation, teacher-pupils and pupils’ interactions. This demonstration challenges the notion that the schools are asexual or sexless spaces as they are crucial sites in children’s development as sexual subjects (Holloway and Valentine, 2001). Moreover, the reproduction of schools as heterosexualised spaces also deconstructs the notion that sexuality seems to belong in the private sphere (Valentine, 1993b).

However, this thesis does not seek to essentialise the school as a paradigmatic space of

heterosexuality but to focus on practices that naturalised particular heteronormative identities (Hubbard, 2008). Moreover, by examining the ways in which heterosexual presumptions were exercised and reinforced within schools, this thesis challenges the notion that the heterosexuality is natural and argues instead that it is socially produced and maintained (Rich, 1980). Also, the research demonstrates that heterosexuality was not shaped by a dominant source of power, but by more complex power relations between different actors in different time contexts.

There has been geographical research demonstrating how sexual morality is constructed by the state (Bell, 1994, 1995a, b). However, the research reveals contradictions between different state programmes in which sexual morality is contested. Profoundly informed by heteronormativity, current sex education in schools made the implementation of the GEEA difficult (see 7.2 and 7.4.4). Sex education has been argued to be a key battleground where the moral contours of society can be redefined (Hubbard, 2000). Thus, the research argues that if the hegemony of heteronormative sex education can be challenged and transformed, it would enable non-normative sexual identities to emerge.

8.4.2 Heteronormativity: an age-differentiated concept

Geographies of sexualities have highlighted the heterogeneity of different forms of heterosexuality (Brown et al, 2007). In particular, the theorisation of heteronormativity has been adopted to explore the ways in which certain forms of heterosexuality are recognised as natural or deviant. It has been argued that the importance of queering heteronormality reveals it as a socially constructed fiction which not only works to represses non-heterosexuals but

also to marginalise many heterosexual identities and practices (Hubbard, 2008). Different from existing geographical work focusing on sex work, tourism and non-normative forms of heterosexual acts, the research suggests that the notion of heteronormativity is also intertwined with a particular social identification: age.

It has been suggested that geographers need to be more attentive to complex and contradictory ways heterosexuality intersects with other social process, such as sexism, racism and ageism (Hubbard, 2000). The research findings fill the gap by suggesting that normative ideas of heterosexuality varied according to which life stage people are at. To be specific, although normative heterosexual identities were dominantly encouraged in schools, there were different heterosexual practices which were considered to be acceptable or unacceptable for young people to perform. The research finds that for young people in senior high school, normative heterosexuality was restricted to be emotionally attracted to the opposite sex, while keeping bodily contacts as limited as possible. Schools' control of physical interaction and development of sexual relationships suggested the expectation of non-sexual children.

Teachers tended to understand the attractions between young men and young women at this stage were natural. However, the control of public displays of affection in schools demonstrates that showing intimacy through corporeal practices was beyond the heteronormative boundary for young people. Yet, the control of young people's intimate behaviours was not only restricted in public spaces in schools but also extended to private places and times. For example, schools were also attentive to keep away pupils to get access to more 'private spots in schools' for intimate interaction (see section 6.4.1). Teachers also

felt they had a responsibility to inform young people's parents if they knew a young couple has stayed at home alone without adult's supervision. These research findings illustrated that the schools' control of young people's heterosexual practices was not based on the idea that the intimacy belonged to the private sphere, but maintaining the normative form of heterosexuality permitted for high school pupils.

The notion of heteronormativity as age differentiated became more evident in the schools' regulation of young people developing sexual relationships. In general, developing a sexual relationship is considered as an appropriate practice for heterosexual identity for serving the purpose of procreation, which also naturalises the notion of heteronormativity (Valentine, 1993b). However, this notion did not apply equally to young people. The research illustrates that developing a sexual relationship was presumed to ruin their life with teen pregnancy (Hyams, 2000). The risk of teen pregnancy was highlighted by schools to control young people's sexual practices, because having a baby and being parents were deviant forms of heterosexual identity for young people.

Through revealing schools' control of young people's sexual practices, the research argues that it is important to explore the significance of the state's role in defining sexual morality through legislation as well as to examine how the notion is contested through social practice. According to Taiwanese law, the age of consent is sixteen. In this sense, for the majority of senior high school students, who are aged sixteen to eighteen, developing a sexual relationship is supposed to be a legally sanctified element of their heterosexual identity. However, the findings suggest that dominant notions of heteronormativity for young people in schools cannot accommodate expressions of young people's sexual desire. In fact,

acceptable sexual expectations of young people were more related to the age of eighteen rather than sixteen (age of consent) in Taiwan. Being over eighteen is the dominant conceptualisation of being adults. As people come to that age, they become legally eligible to drive, drink, smoke and consume sexual materials (publications, films etc). It is interesting to note that there are different definitions in relation to people's sexual matter between laws. In brief, the research argues that it is important for geographers to consider not only different forms of heterosexuality but also the ways that they are inflected by age.

8.4.3 (In)direct exclusion of the sexual Other

Geographers have argued that the hegemony of heterosexuality is not defined merely by sexual acts in private space but is a power relation, which operates in most everyday environments (Brown et al, 2007; Valentine, 1993b). The research suggests that the hegemony in school spaces not only naturalised heterosexual acts and rituals, but was also reproduced through institutionalisation of the heterosexual presumption and (in)direct homophobic discrimination (Brown et al, 2007; Epstein and Johnson, 1994).

The research suggests that the implementation of gender equity education policy in schools did not necessarily deconstruct the hegemonic sexualised norms. Based on a strong heterosexual presumption, Azalea High School appeared to restrict gender equity education within the heterosexual framework, which subsequently served to exclude non-normative sexual identities in the institution. In other words, heteronormativity was institutionalised, and based on the reproduction of a heterosexual/homosexual binary. This dualistic understanding also served to subordinate the sexual Other (Weeks, 2007).

The exclusion of gay and lesbian identities in curriculum and teaching practices was evident in both schools. The notion of heterosexuality was also very much taken-for-granted, particularly in Azalea High School, as teachers claimed that they had ‘very very very few’ gay and lesbian pupils (see section 6.4.3). However, the invisibility of gay or lesbian identities in everyday environments was not about demographic distribution but as the result of fear of homophobic discrimination or violence (Adler and Brenner, 1992; Valentine, 1993a, 1993b). Therefore, gay and lesbian people only tended to disclose their identities among non-heterosexuals in ‘safe spaces’ (Hubbard, 2000). In other circumstances, they are ‘passing’ as heterosexual (Valentine, 1995). Therefore, the research argues that the lower visibility of gay and lesbian pupils in Azalea High School suggests: where the hegemony of heterosexuality was more fixed and less tolerant, it was harder for the sexual Others to disclose themselves.

However, the research also suggests that not only heterosexual presumption served to reinforce the normative gendered and sexualised norms but also homophobic discrimination diffused in everyday practices in schools. Gay and lesbian identities were still stigmatised by negative perceptions (e.g. as disgusting, abnormal and unnatural) among young people. Boys who performed non-normative gender identities were called names and were presumed to be gay and to be disliked. The naturalness of heterosexuality was so dominant that some young women did not recognise their heterosexism but regarded gay and lesbian identifying people as problematic and as responsible for their own victimisation (see section 7.6.1).

The research reveals that the exclusion of the sexual Other was not only exercised through the direct form of homophobic language or behaviours but also took indirect and subtle forms

(Brown et al, 2007). Some girls who seemed to adopt a 'neutral' attitude to gay and lesbian identity expressed 'conditional tolerance'- as long as it has nothing to do with them. In other words, although most girls held a democratic commitment to respect gay and lesbian identities, they continuously built up boundaries between 'we' and 'them'. This suggests a process that young women invested in themselves as heterosexual subjects through their own identification and by rejecting other sexual identities (Butler, 1990; Thomas, 2008). Therefore, the research argues that this apparently neutral attitude to gay and lesbian identities was not evidence of respect for difference but a subtle form of discrimination, which also reproduced the exclusion of gay and lesbian identities. Furthermore, young women's narratives suggested that gay and lesbian identities were less acceptable if they acted beyond normative ideas of 'appropriate behaviours' between two same-sex 'friends' in schools or public spaces. The research argues that a gap exists between young women's attitudes to sexual 'identities' and sexual 'practices'. Young women seemed to accept gay and lesbian identities as ideas as long as they were not performed through people's behaviours.

The research also illustrates the difficulty of positioning bisexual subjects in current discourses of gender equity education in schools. The outsider status of bisexuality suggests the possibility to challenge the dualistic notion of heterosexuality and homosexuality (Hemmings, 1995). However, the findings illustrated that bisexuality was a less acknowledged sexual identity, which was addressed by very few young women but totally missing in teachers' narratives. Therefore, the research argues for the importance of exploring young people's subject experiences to include bisexuality to deconstruct the dualism of heterosexuality and homosexuality and challenge the hegemony of heteronormativity. Thus, there is a need for policy makers to take young people's experiences seriously when seeking to achieve policy objectives (Hemming, 2007; Holt, 2007; Valentine et al, 2002).

8.4.4 Summary

The discussion explores how sexual identities were reproduced in relation to young people in schools. Firstly, the research argues that schools reproduced heterosexual subjects through the heterosexual presumption in teaching practices, school regulation of public displays of affection, and pupils' embodied practices. Secondly, the research draws on the debate on heteronormativity to argue the importance of considering different forms of heterosexuality as well as the ways it was informed by age. Finally, the research argues that schools were significant sites where heterosexual subjects were produced through (in)direct exclusion of the sexual Other. Moreover, the discussion demonstrates the need for policy makers and teachers to be attentive to young people's accounts, and to be aware of emerging bisexual subjects.

8.5 Conclusion

Through engaging with different threads of geographical literature, the research has argued that the implementation of the GEEA was a State project, which attempted to transform Taiwanese society by changing people's perceptions of gender and sexual notions through education. Yet, the resistance from schools was evident in multilayered cultures within institutions. These resistances have demonstrated how the GEEA was largely ineffective and ignored through everyday practices and therefore that non-normative gender and sexual identities were still discriminated against to different extents in both schools.

The research also highlights the further theorisation of children as competent social actors by challenging the dualistic understanding of reproduction or resistance. The ways in which

young people exercised their agency were more complex. The research has illustrated that young women interpreted the discourse of gender equity differently. This affected their understandings of gender identities. As a result, young people's contested understandings of gender equity created manifold trajectories through which they became gendered subjects.

The research also demonstrates that the normalisation of heteronormativity was spatialised in schools through reinforcing heterosexualised masculine and feminine identities. The social exclusion of the sexual Other also contributed to the dominance of heteronormativity in the schools. Exploring how young people's gender and sexual relations were disciplined and controlled in the schools, the research suggests that young people were subject to specific heteronormative ideas. Therefore, it is significant for geographers to further explore how heteronormative ideas are experienced in different stages of the life course. Through this, the socially constructed and fractured nature of heteronormativity can be revealed and its ubiquity can be further challenged and deconstructed.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This Chapter summarises the conceptual and theoretical contributions this thesis makes to the wider literature. By drawing together geographical literature on education, young people, gender and sexualities, the research challenges the dichotomy of inward/outward looking approaches to education, highlights the complex nature of young people's gender identities formation, and foregrounds the age related nature of heteronormativity.

9.2 Inseparable inward and outward analyses of education

In studies of education, geographers have sought to investigate the spatiality of education from different perspectives. Some studies seek to analyse the production, consumption and output of education resources within spaces of education (Butler and Hammett, 2007; Johnston, 2009). Other research focuses on geographical or social processes affected by education beyond these spaces (Thiem, 2009). Other literature then theorises the nature of school as an institutional space (Holloway et al, 2010). This thesis draws together these literatures and challenges the limitations of focusing only on one of these approaches in studying education. Specifically, the research deconstructs the dualistic adoption of inward and outward looking approaches in geographical work on education.

Outwardly, this thesis has examined the context and content of the GEEA. The establishment and implementation of the GEEA implied that the State tried to utilise education as the means

to facilitate social reproduction and create a gender and sexually equal society. Inwardly, the research has explored educational practices within schools through institutional policies, teaching practices and pupil cultures. This thesis has demonstrated that school spaces mattered in reproducing social (in)equality in terms of how young people's gender and sexual identities were shaped. Combining outward and inward analyses, this thesis argues that both the State's only partially good intentions and resistance from schools were significant in understanding the failure of the implementation of the GEEA in schools as well as its limited impact on transforming the society. In this sense, the research challenges geographies of education to move forward beyond the dichotomy of in/outward looking approaches and further explores their interconnection.

9.3 The school as a key site of gender contestation

By focusing on young people's experiences, the research examines the process of their formation of gender identities in the context of a legal intervention in the school space. In terms of conceptual contributions to geographical studies of children and gender, the research argues that the establishment and the unsatisfactory implementation of the GEEA were related to the conceptualisation of young people in an East Asian context. That is, young people's agency and rights in political participation were neglected. Also, as high school students, young people in Taiwan were expected to prioritise academic learning rather than being occupied with gender equity education. Young people were reproduced as test-machines and the significance of issues that did not help them do better in tests was minimised.

The research also complicates the understanding of young people's agency by challenging the

idea that they ‘either’ appropriate ‘or’ resist a particular discourse (Ansell, 2002). In particular, this thesis argues the complexity of young people in shaping their subjectivity (Thomas, 2008). By examining young people’s perceptions of masculinity and femininity, the research explores how their contradictory understandings related to the discourse of gender equity. It is argued that in a few circumstances young people did interpret the discourse of gender equity as meaning ‘same treatment’ or ‘tolerance for difference’ which helped to reproduce diverse gender subjects in schools. However, in other circumstances, the discourse of gender equity was articulated as ‘double standards’ or ‘pursuit of homogeneity’ which worked to reinforce restricted gender models based on an essentialist understanding of gender differences¹⁶⁰. In this sense, the research furthers the understanding of the complex exercise of young people’s agency by revealing their contested understandings of gender equity and the ways through which they became gendered subjects.

By exploring the practices of young people negotiating their gender identities in Taiwanese schools, the research also highlights different models of school education and gender ideals in the East Asian context. The research illustrates the significance of particular practices and constructions in schools (manual work, uniform regulation, virginity etc) affecting young people’s gender identities in Taiwan. This complements existing literature on understanding young people’s constructions of gender identities in schools in the Western context. In other words, the cultural specificity of everyday practices in constituting young people’s experiences is demonstrated.

¹⁶⁰ They are female/passive/sexually innocent/with less physical strength versus male/active/interested in sex/with better physical strength.

9.4 The age related nature of heteronormativity

Considering the GEEA was also related to sexual identity, the research demonstrates that schools were sexualised spaces which reproduced heterosexual subjects (Epstein and Johnson, 1994). Schools as heterosexual identity making machines operated with the heterosexual presumption and exclusion of the sexual Other. In challenging heteronormativity, the research contributes to the conceptualisation of different forms of heterosexuality, in this case in terms of age. Through exploring schools' regulation of public display of affection, the research argues that although heterosexual identity was reinforced within schools, only an asexual/non-sexual form of heterosexuality was acceptable and was considered as the norm for young people in high schools. The research suggests that there are different heterosexual identities associated with different age groups and heterosexual identity might mean different things for people at different life stages. Therefore, there is a need for geographers to deconstruct heteronormativity by further exploring a variety of forms of heterosexuality reflected on age.

In summary, the research draws on literature on education, young people, gender and sexuality to both challenge and forward existing geographical work in different aspects. In brief, education needs to be studied by considering its role in wider society as well as its practices in schools. The complexity and contradiction of young people's agency in shaping their gender identities needs to be further explored by challenging the limited spatial focus in children's geographies. It is important to understand that geographical and cultural contexts based on different presumptions of school education and young people matter in the constitution of distinct childhoods. Also, geographers have to become attentive to the impact of age in informing particular forms of heterosexuality.

9.5 Conclusion

Research in children's geographies has been spatially unbalanced, with far greater attention being paid to the lives and experiences of children, and the nature of childhood, in the Global North than the Global South. A relatively small group of researchers have worked hard to challenge this Northern centrality, insisting on the importance of studying children in the Majority world (e.g. Ansell, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008; Punch 2000, 2004; Robson, 2004; van Blerk, 2008). However, spatial coverage outside the Global North is still partial, and in particular there is very little work exploring children's experiences in East Asia.

This thesis redresses the balance and explores contemporary young people's experiences in East Asia, a context where established gender and sexual ideology is, theoretically at least, being challenged through education. In doing so, the thesis shows that Western norms about education, childhood, gender and sexuality are not universally relevant, and that cultural specificity is significant in understanding society. Furthermore, the thesis has built up a foundation for future research to link these local practices (e.g. the transformation of gender and sexual ideology through education) to wider global processes such as the neoliberalisation of education, the emphasis on children's rights, equal treatment for men and women, and the call for sexual citizenship. In summary, the thesis demonstrates the importance of undertaking further research which interrogates the spatiality of education, childhood and identity in diverse geographical contexts in order to move beyond the North-centrality, and explanatory parochialism, which (despite challenge from some quarters) still continues to be a problem in the sub-discipline today.

Appendix 1: An example of interview prompts: for lawmakers and policy makers

1. What is your experience of involving with lawmaking of the Gender Equity Education Act (or policy-making of gender equity education)?
2. How was the process of lawmaking (or policymaking) carried out?
 - (1) What was the social context of lawmaking (or policy-making)?
 - (2) How was the research team organised?
 - (3) How was public opinion collected?
 - (4) How the content of the GEEA (or policy) is decided?
3. Was there any difficulty or dispute during the process of lawmaking or policy-making?
 - (1) What are key themes of the GEEA (or policy)? What was the consideration behind relevant articles (or policy suggestions)?
 - (2) Was there any dispute within the research team or in public hearings during the process?
 - (3) Was there any difficulty in drafting the GEEA (or policy) during the process?
4. What are the pros and cons of the GEEA (or policy)?
 - (1) The significance of the GEEA (or policy)
 - (2) The limitation of the GEEA (or policy)
 - (3) How the policy is going to be implemented by schools?

Appendix 2: An example of interview prompts: for members of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC) in Ministry of Education or Taipei City Government

1. What is your current role and responsibility as a member of the GEEC?
 - (1) How are members of the GEEC selected/decided?
 - (2) How are members of the GEEC assigned into different subgroups?
 - (3) How does the GEEC operate? How many meetings would be held per year? How the meeting is like? How would the conclusions of the meetings be put into practice?
 - (4) How does the subgroup operate?
2. What are the agenda, key themes and strategies of implementing gender equity education this year?
3. Are there any difficulties or challenges for the GEEC in implementing the GEEA?
4. What are your experiences of visiting schools or assessing schools' implementation of the GEEA?
 - (1) What do you think of main difficulties faced by schools' in implementing the GEEA?
 - (2) What kinds of issues related to gender equity education have the school engaged with?
 - (3) Are there any issues with which the school has engaged less?

Appendix 3: An example of interview prompts: for governmental officers

1. What is your current role and responsibility in implementing the Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA) or policy
2. The organization and operation of the Gender Equity Education Committee (GEEC)
 - (1) How to invite and decide the members of the GEEC?
 - (2) How does the GEEC operate? How many meetings would be held per year? What the meetings are like? What issues have been raised this year? What is the agenda of the GEEC this year?
 - (3) How the decisions made in the GEEC could become policy and be put into practice in schools?
3. The selection of seed and non-seed schools for gender equity education
 - (1) How the seed and non-seed schools are decided?
 - (2) What is the difference between seed and non-seed schools? What is seed schools' responsibility? What resources do seed schools receive?
4. How the government assesses schools' implementation of the GEEA?

Appendix 4: An example of interview prompts for representatives of NGOs

1. When and why this organisation is established? What is the ethos of your organisation?
2. What does your organisation do?
3. How is the organisation involved with the issue of gender equity education?
4. What is your experience of promoting the issue of gender equity education when invited by schools?
 - (1) How do you get in touch with the school?
 - (2) What is the form of the event? What kinds of services you provide for schools?
 - (3) How do you decide the theme of the event? What is the process of discussing it with the school?
 - (4) What are response/feedbacks of the event from schools, teachers and students?
 - (5) Have you experience any difficulty or challenge when you promote the issues related to gender equity education in schools?

Appendix 5: An example of interview prompts: for teachers (members of the GEEC; and adaptive to teachers as non-members of the GEEC)

1. Teachers' experience of implementing gender equity education
 - (1) When and how you become involved in the issue of gender equity education? (Job demand, as members of the GEEC, interest etc)
 - (2) What is your role and responsibility in implementing gender equity education in the school?
 - (3) What is the schools' agenda and strategy in implementing gender equity education?
 - (4) What are the main achievements in implementing gender equity education in the school?
 - (5) What are the main difficulties in implementing gender equity education in school?
2. Teachers' understanding of the Gender Equity Education Act (GEEA)
 - (1) How does your school provide gender-fair learning environments and equity opportunities for pupils with diverse gender and sexual identities?
 - (2) How do you integrate the issue of gender equity education into teaching in the classroom?
 - (3) Have there been sexual assaults or harassment incidents in the school? What are your strategies to deal with this issue?
 - (4) Overall, what do you think about implementing the GEEA in schools? (Pros and cons)
3. Does the issue of gender equity education have impacts on how you consider your role as a schoolteacher and the role of education?

Appendix 6: An example of interview prompts: for young women

1. Young women's experience of the formal curriculum of gender equity education
 - (1) Is there any subject, which would introduce issues related to gender/sexual equity? What kinds of issues have been introduced?
 - (2) How did teachers introduce these issues? What was the class like? Does the teaching improve your understanding of the issues introduced?
 - (3) Is there any issue that you would like to know more about it?
2. The conceptualisation of being senior high school students
 - (1) What do you think the general understandings/impressions of senior high school students are in Taiwanese society? What do you think of those ideas?
 - (2) What is your experience of being a senior high school student?
 - (3) In an ideal world what would it be like to be a high school student?
3. Young women's understandings of masculinity and femininity
 - (1) Can you describe what boys are like in the school?
 - (2) Can you describe what girls are like in the school?
 - (3) Have you ever experienced any different treatments in the school because of gender?
4. Young women's perceptions of developing a intimate relationship as senior high school students
 - (1) What do you think of developing intimate relationships when you are a senior high school student?
 - (2) To what extent do you think that intimate relationships could develop in high schools? Why?
 - (3) What do you think of teachers' attitudes to you developing intimate relationships? Do you agree with teachers' concerns? Why?
5. Young women's understandings of sexual identities
 - (1) Apart from heterosexuality, do you know if there any other sexual identities?
 - (2) What are your understandings of those sexual identities?

Appendix 7: Key informants' pseudonym and identity

Pseudonym	Gender	Status
K1	F	Lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in the central government
K2	F	Lawmaker and member of the GEEC in the central government
K3	F	Lawmaker, policy maker and member of the GEEC in the central government
K4	F	Policy maker and member of the GEEC in Taipei City Government
K5	M	Member of the GEEC in Taipei City Government
K6	F	Representative of NGOs
K7	M	
K8	F	Governmental officers (Central government)
K9	F	
K10	F	
K11	F	Governmental officer (Taipei City Government)

Appendix 8: Teachers' pseudonym and identity

Identity	Gender	School
The Head of the Counselling Office, school manager	F	Azalea
Counselling teacher, school manager	F	
Military training instructor	M	
The Head of the Personnel Office, school manager	M	
The Head of the General Affairs Office, school manager	M	
The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office	M	
The Head of the Academic Affairs Office	M	
Representative of teacher union	F	
Military training instructor, school manager	M	
The Head of the Library, school manager	F	
Class teacher (History) (not member of the GEEC)	F	
Class teacher (Counselling) (not member of the GEEC)	F	
The Head of the Academic Affairs Office	M	Banyan
The Head of the Pupil Affairs Office	M	
The Head of the General Affairs Office, school manager	M	
The Head of the Counselling Office, school manager	F	
Representative of teacher union	M	
The Head of the Library, school manager	M	
Class teacher (Chinese)	F	
Class teacher (English)	F	
Class teacher (Math)	M	
Class teacher (Geography)	F	
Class teacher (Biology)	F	
Class teacher (PE, Physical Education)	M	
Class teacher (Health and Nursing)	F	
Military training instructor	F	
Class teacher (History)	F	
Class teacher (English)	F	

Appendix 9: Young women's pseudonym

Pseudonym	Gender	Group or individual interview	School
A1	F	Individual	Azalea
A2	F	Group 1	
A3	F	Group 1	
A4	F	Group 2	
A5	F	Group 2	
A6	F	Group 3	
A7	F	Group 3	
A8	F	Group 3	
A9	F	Group 4	
A10	F	Group 4	
A11	F	Group 4	
A12	F	Group 4	
A13	F	Individual	
	M	Individual	
B1	F	Group 5	Banyan
B2	F	Group 5	
B3	F	Group 5	
B4	F	Group 5	
B5	F	Group 6	
B6	F	Group 6	
B7	F	Group 7	
B8	F	Group 7	
B9	F	Group 7	
B10	F	Group 7	
B11	F	Group 8	
B12	F	Group 8	
B13	F	Group 8	
B14	F	Group 9	
B15	F	Group 9	
B16	F	Group10	
B17	F	Group10	
B18	F	Group10	
B19	F	Group10	
B20	F	Group10	
B21	F	Individual	
B22	F	Individual	
	M	Group 11	
	M	Group 11	

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